

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR AUGUST, 1836.

Art. I. *Physical Theory of another Life.* By the Author of *Natural History of Enthusiasm.* 8vo. pp. 321. London, 1836.

IN this volume, the Author, whose name is no longer a secret, abandoning the thankless and Quixotic office of an armed mediator between the religious parties that divide the country,—an office which would seem almost to require a Divine commission, and greater discretion than is always united with honest intention, in order to success,—‘returns,’ as he tells us, ‘to the ‘favourite and peaceful themes of his earlier’ (and we must add, his better) ‘meditations and studies.’ The Hebrew prophet, for attempting to act the part of arbitrator and judge forty years too soon, found himself compelled to give up the enterprise, and turn shepherd in a distant land. We are glad that our Author’s mistake has not altogether had the effect of either putting him to flight, or disheartening him; and that it has only led him to renounce, with the awkward mystery of an incognito, a literary enterprise which seemed to him to require it; one which drew him out of his proper orbit, in the prosecution of a gigantic scheme, vast and visionary, and now at length discovered to be ‘hopeless of a beneficial issue.’ He has done himself honour by the candour of this avowal; and those parties who might have the greatest reason to feel aggrieved by his rude zeal in setting to rights the religious world, will, we should hope, be conciliated by his laying down his arms, and retreating from ‘the abyss of strife.’

Judging only from internal evidence, no one, we think, would be readily brought to believe that the present volume is from the pen of the Author of “*Spiritual Despotism.*” The tone and manner, the style and phraseology, are so completely different, that, if written by the same person, we should be led to refer them to very distantly removed periods of his life, allowing of an essential change in the moral and intellectual temperament. This

explanation failing us, we can account for the singular dissimilarity between the two works, only by supposing that "Spiritual Despotism," which bore all the marks of being struck off under the spur of impulse, was written under what our neighbours would call an *exalted* state of feeling. It would seem that the Author, having assured himself by his flattering and well-merited success, that he had the ear of the public,—imagining too, that he had a special mission to fulfil,—was wrought up to a pitch of enthusiasm, that threw him off the balance of his judgment; a noble and high-minded enthusiasm, but which, we cannot but think, approached sometimes too nearly to fanaticism, and dealt its rebukes with too much of the spirit of intellectual despotism. There was, in his writings, an appearance of a sort of Pythic *afflatus*, which led one of his Reviewers to remark, that he seemed 'to work almost throughout in a tone of mental orgasm.' And this was evinced, not so much in an occasional inflation of style, as in the peremptory assertions and sweeping allegations scattered over the pages of the volume we especially allude to. The contemptuous defiance of the press, the sneers at Reviewers, the denunciations against Congregationalism, the ridicule of Christian 'clubs', so out of character in the Author of "Saturday Evening", gave plain indication of an excited state of feeling, the result, no doubt, of the feverish temperature of the times. Now it is remarkable how completely all these faults of temper and manner disappear in the present volume. In closing our review of his preceding work, we expressed the hope, that when we next caught sight of the Author, it might be in his proper orbit; 'in that upper heaven of holy meditation, in which he 'moves as in his proper sphere.' That hope is most satisfactorily realized. In the "Physical Theory of another Life," the style is as chaste and elegant as the argument is lofty, and the reasoning profound. For diffuseness, we have perspicuity and compactness; for vehemence, a sustained dignity; for rhetoric, reasoning. Bold as poetry in her loftiest moods, his imagination has, in this excursive flight into the region of hypothesis,

'Pass'd the flaming bounds of place and time.'

Yet, there is little in the most startling positions or conjectures that can be deemed either fanciful or extravagant. Hypothesis though it be, it is based on analogy; and while partaking of the certainty, preserves also the sobriety and caution of calculation. And the crowning excellence of the volume is, that while altogether speculative in its subject matter, it is most impressively and solemnly practical in its design and tendency; and nothing can be more salutary than the impressions which, both as a whole, and in the conduct of the argument, it is adapted to leave on the reader's mind.

Before we enter, however, upon our analysis of this delightful production, we must detain our readers a little longer, with a retrospective reference to the Author's general purpose in his former volumes, which, by a different and more excellent mode, he has also aimed to accomplish in the present work. Adopting as a primary axiom, the position, that 'Christianity, *such as it actually exists in the bosoms of those who entertain it*, is the 'instrument of God's mercy to the world', and that 'the effect, 'in every age, will be as the instrument;' he infers, that, in order to the triumphant diffusion of Christianity, it must first undergo a separation from the faults and errors by which the character of the instrument is so seriously vitiated. In other words, 'the 'great work, in an age of missions, should be, the re-inauguration 'of Christianity among ourselves.' The hope of advancing the necessary reformation of the Church, furnished the prime motive to his projected enterprise. At the time of his embarking in it, 'many auspicious indications of peace and union,' seemed, in his view, to encourage the attempt to remove 'obsolete causes of 'disagreement,' and to deal faithfully with ancient misconceptions.

'But an unlooked-for course of events has dissipated, for the present, these happy presages, and has given a vehement excitement to sentiments which the lovers of peace had fondly believed were fast disappearing, so that it would now be idle to hope for a dispassionate hearing upon subjects that touch the differences between party and party.'

'There are two perfectly distinct modes in which the influence of the highest truths may be increased: the one is to remove, so far as it may be done, the prejudices and perversions that have been amassed around them. The other method is, forgetting any incidental causes of obstruction, to hold forth, in its native brightness, the substance of those truths. The Author, in his desire—he believes a sincere desire—to promote, to the utmost of his power, these inestimable principles, at first attempted to accomplish his object in the former method: he now attempts it in the second.'—*Preface.*

Now we wish to say a few words upon each of the three points here touched upon; the preliminary position, the aspect of the times, and the two modes of promoting the desired invigoration of our extant Christianity.

As to the first, we fully agree with the Author, that one of the strongest reasons for that revision of existing systems, and that accommodation of ecclesiastical differences, which he has aimed to promote, is supplied by the urgent call now made upon the Church to attempt, under circumstances more advantageous than have ever presented themselves since the apostolic era, the conversion of the world. We admit, that it is most peculiarly incumbent upon us to see to it, that the Christianity which we are sending

forth is pure, peaceable, genuine, as free from human admixture as possible. And we concede also, that the expansive and progressive power of the Christian faith may be expected to bear a proportion to its purity as existing in the Church, and to the vital force which animates each individual believer. After all, God works by individuals, not by collective bodies. It was not the Church of Antioch, but Paul and Barnabas, that commenced the evangelization of Asia Minor and Europe. It has not been, in like manner, this or that Missionary Society that has planted the faith of Christ in heathen and Mohammedan lands, but apostolic men, such as Schwartz, and Brainerd, and Carey, and Martyn; and the future results of all the subsidiary machinery of our institutions will be determined by the character of the living agency actually employed. The individuals may or may not rise above the average character of faith, knowledge, and charity in the churches from which they respectively proceed. It may be presumed that they will take their cast and complexion of sentiment, in great measure, from their education and the collective character of religious society. Yet the requisite qualifications for the missionary enterprise include a zeal and self-devoted piety in advance, if not of the times, of the average level of Christian profession; and those whom God calls to eminent service, if not originally distinguished by superior faculties and endowments, become educated and transformed by the course of their labours and sufferings into a higher style of character. It does not therefore by any means follow, that the instrumentality employed in propagating the Gospel in heathen lands, should reflect the defectiveness, the schismatic character, or the relaxed tone which too much characterize the state of the Church at home. The fact, indeed, is otherwise. And therefore, how imperative soever the necessity that Christians should, in the view of the mighty enterprize opening upon them, be turning their serious and prayerful attention to the sources of their disunion and weakness, it cannot be proper that they should suspend their exertions till they have effected the desired reformation. Had this principle been acted upon, nothing in the shape of missionary exertion would ever have been attempted to the present moment, and we should have been further removed from internal union and purity than we are.

On the contrary, we believe the axiom to be a sound one; that 'the only way to retain Christianity is to diffuse it.' The Missionary agitation has done more towards reforming, and reviving, and re-uniting the Church than the controversies of centuries. The stagnant antinomianism into which the waters of life had as it were subsided in many places, has felt the purifying influence of the Missionary spirit. The tone of health has been recovered by the exertion of dormant energy. Not only is the

Church more visibly one in the great Missionary enterprise, carried on though it be by distinct yet concurrent agencies, than under any other aspect; but any approximation to actual union that has been made, has been the effect of the re-action of the newly awakened zeal to extend the triumphs of the Gospel. In like manner, the efforts made to promote the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, have given an impulse to the study of the Bible and to Biblical criticism, which, combined with the increasing disposition to defer to the word of God as the only Rule of Faith and Judge of Controversy, has already produced the happiest results. Experience would therefore lead us to believe, that the internal reformation of the Church, or the improvement of our home Christianity, is more likely to be the almost involuntary consequence of the efforts to propagate the Christian faith, than to precede them. Political wisdom might dictate the latter as the more rational and feasible course; but human nature forbids it, and the ways of God are, in this instance, above the ways of man. The first Reformation failed and stopped short, chiefly because it wanted the vital spirit of self-propagation, and had no sooner established itself, than it entered into a compromise with the powers of this world, which arrested its progress. The Protestant Church, at first stationary, soon became retrograde; and internal contentions and disputations absorbed the energies which ought to have been turned against the kingdom of darkness. The second Reformation has for its peculiar characteristic the Missionary spirit; and as this is maintained or suffered to decay, will be its progress or retrogression. 'In the bosom of the Church,' observes our Author, 'rests the hope of the conversion of the world.' This is true; and on her fulfilling her duty to the world, rests the hope of the reformation of the Church.

Is it then fact, that an unlooked-for course of events has dissipated the happy presages which, a few years ago, indicated the approach of peace and union? We take a different view of the matter. The events which have happened, the 'vehement excitement' that has been given to certain sentiments, the ecclesiastical and political agitation of the times, we conscientiously believe to have "fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the Gospel," and, eventually, of the peace and union to which they might seem adverse. And our reasons for thinking so, we shall endeavour to state in as few words as possible. In the first place, the events themselves must be viewed by every friend to religious liberty as auspicious to the cause of Christian truth. The three great events in our domestic history which have been the immediate occasion of all the political excitement, are, the so called Catholic Emancipation, the Reform Bill, and the Abolition of West India Slavery. On each of these three great questions, the members of the Establishment and the Dissenters

were for the most part mutually opposed. Whatever might be said for or against the political expediency of admitting Roman Catholics into the legislature, it cannot be denied, that the measure was advocated by Protestant Dissenters simply on the ground of those principles of religious liberty for which they have always contended; and they viewed the boon to their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects as an act of political justice similar to that which had, just before, relieved themselves from the Sacramental Test. The evangelical clergy were, with few exceptions, vehemently opposed to the relief of the Roman Catholics, as they had looked with feelings of jealousy on the repeal of the Test; and upon this occasion, they were led to cling closer to the Establishment, and to draw off to a more cautious distance from the abettors of the grand heresy of Religious Liberty. Such we believe to be the origin of the political feud between the Church of England men and the evangelical Dissenters, which has taken the place of ancient ecclesiastical jealousies. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, by whom that measure was carried, have been forgiven by their party and the Church. The Dissenters, who were merely favourable to the measure on the broad ground of principle, never will be.

The Reform Bill followed; and it will be recollected that, upon that occasion, the clergy generally shewed themselves busy politicians, taking part with the timid or interested opponents of all reform in the representation, as if Gatton and Old Sarum had been the very outworks of the Establishment; and one noble Lord (Wynford) opposed the Bill because, as he predicted, it would give increased power to the Dissenters and Abolitionists, and lead to the ruin of the West India interest as the consequence of the abolition of slavery. The passing of the Reform Bill was represented by the Tories as the triumph of the Dissenters; and a measure in which all good men ought to have concurred upon moral grounds, was thus the occasion of still further inflaming our ecclesiastical discord. The emancipation of the West India slaves was, as Lord Wynford predicted, the first fruits of the blow given to Oligarchical corruption; and what was the part taken by the church during the agitation of that great measure? The Dissenters of England were as one man; and it was said, that by their moral force chiefly the Abolition Act was carried. Perhaps they did not fully deserve this compliment. But it was most unfortunate, that even the evangelical clergy were far from being universally zealous and cordial in the Abolition cause; and the majority of the clergy were adverse to it. The truth is, that the Church of England was a slave-holder, while the cause of negro emancipation was identified with Dissenting Missions in the West India islands. For the abolition of slavery, we are mainly indebted to a band of self-denying and

persecuted Missionaries, and, next to them, to the Colonial Church-Unionists who waged war against them. The pious clergy now unfeignedly rejoice, we make no doubt, in the passing of the Abolition Act; but we fear that they have never forgiven the Dissenters for being so greatly instrumental in accomplishing it.

These three occasions of political excitement, then, we say, involving as they did the triumph of the principles of justice, freedom, and humanity, cannot but be auspicious to the cause of Christian truth; the last being immediately contributory to its advancement. Nor are Dissenters responsible for the accidental excitement and party opposition which attended the progress of these measures.

But we now come to consider the pending subjects of contention,—the grievances of which the Dissenters seek the redress, and the question relating to what is called the Voluntary Principle. It cannot be denied, that the agitation of these topics has tended still further to alarm and to alienate from the Dissenters the great body of the clergy. Yet are the Dissenters blameworthy, that they sought from the justice of a reformed Parliament, relief from grievances which have long been the source of so much vexation and evil? How new soever the subjects of complaint to the majority of Church of England men, they formed part of a system under which the Dissenters had long been patiently, but not insensibly or contentedly suffering. Marriage Bills had been repeatedly brought under the consideration of the Legislature, having for their object to give relief to those who conscientiously objected against the ritual of the Church of England. The defective registration of births had become a growing national evil, affecting churchmen equally with Dissenters; the former being often interested in suits which required the production of legal evidence of births, and the Court of Chancery having refused to recognize as such the Dissenters' registries. The vexatious operation of the ecclesiastical law of Burial had been repeatedly brought under the notice of the Legislature; and Sir John Nicholls's memorable decision in the Court of Arches, gave at once publicity and partial redress to an intolerable grievance. Against the imposition of Church Rates, the Society of Friends have never ceased to protest; and if other classes of Dissenters had seemed to acquiesce in the long established practice, it must be recollected that, till of late years, these rates had not become so considerable in amount as to draw attention to the principle they involve; and it was not till the principle was mooted, that the Dissenters generally felt called upon to make an open stand against the exaction. Nor were they the foremost to complain of the enormous burdens thrown upon parishes by the arbitrary proceedings and lavish expenditure of the Church-building Commis-

sioners. The question relating to admission to the Universities was also of no recent date; but the refusal of a charter to the London University was unquestionably the occasion of its being made a more prominent subject of complaint, as it aggravated the flagrant injustice of the exclusive system. That the Protestant Dissenters are entitled to some redress in these matters, is now admitted even by Conservative politicians; and it reflects no honour upon the evangelical members of the Establishment, that they should, for the most part, have met with unkind opposition or flippant ridicule the claims of their fellow subjects of other communions. The cry was raised in certain quarters, that the religious Dissenters were becoming too political, were assuming a political attitude: the fact being, that they had only become, from previous causes, the objects of an intense political jealousy on the part of churchmen.

That intense political jealousy had for its real basis, the support given by Dissenters to the Whig Government. So completely have politics obtained the ascendancy over other grounds of union or disunion in the minds of the members of the Establishment, that a Tory Dissenter, how extreme soever his Dissenterism, is smiled upon by the Church, and shaken hands with as a brother; while one of opposite politics, albeit more nearly allied in his ecclesiastical opinions and predilections, of catholic spirit and saintly piety, is shunned as an enemy. But there is nothing new in this. An Establishment of necessity generates this feeling towards all who dissent from it. In the days of Lord Chatham, Dissenters were reproached as men of close ambition; during the American war, they shared with the best men in the country, in the reproach of seditious disaffection; next, they were stigmatized as Republicans; and now as Radicals. Enemies of Cæsar, under some term of reproach or other, those must always expect to be deemed, who resist the theocratic pretensions of a dominant priesthood. Formerly, the Dissenters were reproached with being in opposition to the Government: now, their crime, and it is deemed a greater one, is their being too well affected towards the Powers that be. They are represented as having suddenly become more political in their spirit, because they occupy a more advantageous position relative to the Legislature and the Executive. Hence the '*great change*' to which our Author refers as having taken place 'in the relative position and the reciprocal feelings of the religious parties that divide the country.' We must regard it as an auspicious change; one that, if not immediately promotive of peace and union, tends to the advancement of those principles upon which a solid union must rest.

It was impossible that religious parties could long remain in the state of apparent coalescence into which they might seem to

be brought. The enormous growth of high-church principles among the evangelical clergy, inflamed by an epidemic fanaticism, was rendering all union between Churchmen and Dissenters daily more and more difficult and precarious. On various pretences, there was a drawing back from all ecclesiastical fellowship with the Dissenters, on the part, not so much of those who had once cordially united in plans of co-operation, and in the assertion of catholic principles, as in the younger clergy, in whom the spirit of educational bigotry fostered at college, is always most rife. These circumstances were bringing on a conflict of principles, to which political events have only furnished an occasion. There was a needs-be that it should take place; and how much soever we may deplore the necessity, we have no fears as to the beneficial result.

The effect has already been beneficial. The exorbitant claims of the Establishment, brought more distinctly into light, have been discovered to be alike fallacious and hostile to the best interests of society. The unreformable character of the system to which the clergy are so blindly attached, is forcing itself upon general conviction. The Church as an order, and the State as resting upon representative government, are in permanent collision; and it begins to be seen that the ecclesiastical feudalism, a relic of the dark ages, is incompatible with the genius of our free constitutions. Those parties who are opposed to all violent changes, and who class as moderate Conservatives, are now found giving up as untenable, the maxims of legislative intolerance upon which the Establishment itself is based; and an immense advance has been made towards a better understanding of the objects and limits of civil government. Finally, the injustice of compulsory enactments in support of a particular form of religious worship, and the superior efficiency of the voluntary system, as realized not only among the churches of the Protestant Dissenters, but to a great extent within the Establishment itself, as well as in the immense apparatus of our religious and philanthropic institutions, are every day becoming more generally recognised.

In the mean time, amid all this political excitement and conflict, the spirit of piety among the Dissenters, we confidently assert, has suffered neither deterioration nor abatement. If the contrary be affirmed, we ask for the proof. Is it to be found in a decline of zeal in the Missionary cause,—in a relaxation of effort to promote the spread of evangelical truth,—in a lower tone or more secular spirit manifested at our religious meetings,—in any symptoms of decay or declension from the faith in our churches? The reverse of all this we believe to be the fact*. The truth is,

* That many of our institutions, even those which are best sup-

that all this development of public spirit, which is deprecated under the name of political ambition, or party zeal, is strictly congenial with those principles of enlarged philanthropy and voluntary liberality to which it has been sometimes supposed to be adverse. The spirit which is seeking reform in our domestic institutions, has abolished slavery. That same spirit which is resisting ecclesiastical imposition at home, is, in the language of our Author, 'with a costly zeal, diffusing liberty, and civilization, and truth over the world.' That same voluntary principle which is wrestling with the despotism, the extortion, and the corruption of a secular Establishment, is proving itself to be 'the only engine that can be relied upon for effecting the vast enterprises of charity.' The political spirit of the Dissenters is fed from moral sources. At the moment of the highest party excitement, the question of the abolition of slavery outweighed, with them, every other; and at this very moment, we venture fearlessly to assert, that marriage-bills, church-rates, and every grievance affecting the civil interests of the Dissenters, would be treated as matters wholly subordinate and comparatively trivial, if any attempt were made to interfere with Missionary operations abroad, or the unrestricted preaching of the Gospel at home. On the other hand, there can be no question that our religious zeal tends to keep alive public spirit. 'Religion', as Burke remarked of the New England colonists, 'always a principle of energy, is one main cause of this free spirit.' And an American Writer has remarked, that 'the foreign Missionary enterprise is just such an object as is suited to impart tone, and vigour, and strength to that morality which is necessary to give complete success to our free institutions.' The remark is not less applicable to our own country, that the tone of morality and piety is elevated by the reflex moral influence which this object exerts upon our churches. 'The Christian community,' it is added, 'needs just such an object as the foreign missionary work as a means of self-preservation. If our country is ever saved from the pollutions of infidelity, and the withering blasts of Popery, it is to be done by that spirit of enlarged benevolence that "seeketh not her own",—that spirit which aims at nothing less than the conversion of the whole world to Christ.*

A person must be blind to the true aspect of the times, who

ported, require and deserve to be more liberally and zealously upheld, we do not deny; but the only two Societies, to the best of our knowledge, among the Dissenters, which have failed to obtain general and effective support, are, the Society for Promoting Ecclesiastical Knowledge, and the Voluntary Church Society.

* *Literary and Theological Review.* [New York.] No. I. p. 103.

confounds the present eager contest for practical objects with the logomachies of other days. The age of disputation has passed away, and the trivial subjects of polemic wrangling are more justly estimated. If Episcopalians and Nonconformists were not separated by the degrading distinctions of political caste, the ecclesiastical schism of Protestantism would soon be healed. To set about reconciling the contending parties in their present political predicament, were an enterprise as hopeless to reason down the prejudices which keep apart the haughty Brahmin from the Soodra. The Church of Christ never can be one, while an aristocratic sectarianism exalts itself on the ground of a State monopoly, and spurns at communion with all other portions of the Christian body. It is for this reason, that the Author failed to obtain a hearing with either party in his last ill-digested and incongruous work. With the best intentions in the world, he gave deserved offence, and wrought only mischief. Setting out with the fallacious notion, that, for the sake of the country and of Christianity itself, we ought supremely to desire and promote the *restoration* of the Church, that is, the restored ascendancy of a sacerdotal order; he, towards the close of the same volume, thus correctly and eloquently describes the extant spirit of the Establishment, as manifested by the clergy of the present day, and not obscurely predicts the issue of the course they are so madly pursuing.

‘None who are accustomed to think, and are acquainted with history, can need to have it proved to them, that, in the present condition of the British empire, and in the actual state of public opinion in this and other countries, a Church which professes and retains, or which does not utterly throw off, the insufferable and preposterous ecclesiastical principles of the Reformers, can have any other fate than that of working itself on to worse and worse ground, and of becoming, every year and day, feebler and more obnoxious. Neither statutes, nor the power of the aristocracy, nor the favour of kings,—no, nor the power of Heaven itself, can prevent the decay and fall of a Church that, in the present day, advances as its preliminaries, maxims essentially despotic. Whatever communion or corporation, within the bosom of a free country, takes its stand upon sectarian ground, although *now* it may be the largest, the most opulent, the most learned, and the most powerful of all sects, will never be more or other than a sect; and almost certainly will go on narrowing its circle, until it has become as inconsiderable as any of its competitors; and perhaps the most inconsiderable of all. Sects may be sectarian, and yet, in a certain sense, may thrive; but to a National Church sectarianism must be fatal. At a time when the free discussion of all opinions, and the agitation of all interests, tends to bring every thing to find its real level, a sectarian National Church must suffer vastly more in the collision of parties, than any other party can do. Other bodies may

have something to hope for and to gain, but the Established party has every thing to fear and to lose.

‘Every man of sense and right feeling, who cares for the Established Church, and desires its welfare, must be penetrated with sorrow and humiliation in hearing the insufferable language and doctrines of the times of Charles II. repeated, up to the present hour, by certain of the clergy. It is more than can well be expected from human nature, that the Dissenters should listen to this outrageous bigotry in magnanimous silence. On the contrary, it exasperates, not merely the intemperate and factious, but the moderate and respectable. Does the Church then think herself so strong, that she may in safety insult and revile some millions of the people; and not the least intelligent or powerful portion of them? This is an illusion not unlikely to be dissipated. But where is the Christian temper of a Church that deals in, or that authenticates calumnies and curses. Or where is episcopal authority that does not visit the offenders with grave and public rebukes? Clergymen may know what will suit the taste and temper of their order; but they do not always know, or appear to know, the taste, temper, and tacit sentiments of the laity.’—*Spiritual Despotism*, pp. 364—366; 498, 499.

Episcopal authority, far from visiting the profligate offenders with public rebukes, has been employed to abet and countenance them. A striking verification of the Author's last observation was supplied by Mr. Charles Lushington's calm and gentle remonstrance with the prelate who bestowed the whole weight of his episcopal sanction upon the infuriated ribaldry of Gathercole, but to which his Lordship had neither the good-feeling nor politeness to vouchsafe a reply. Yet it is to such hands that measures of Church Reform are entrusted, that are to conciliate the nation to an Establishment sinking under the weight of its own abuses! The Ecclesiastical Bills now before Parliament show what may be expected from such a quarter. Now such being the actual spirit of the Church political, which has never, ‘since the age of its foundation,’ our Author being witness, ‘done or said any thing to disengage herself from the theoretic errors of her polity,’ or to clear herself from ‘the obloquies and suspicions that attach to her history,’—so that, ‘for aught the nation knows or can be sure of, the Church, circumstances favouring, would say again what once she said, and do again what once she did,’—we ask, whether this is a time for any one who seeks to promote the cause of truth, to devote his best energies to bolstering up the Establishment by an attack upon Dissenting institutions? Would not the passage we have cited, furnish the fullest justification of an uncompromising warfare against an Institution founded on the insufferable and preposterous ecclesiastical principles of the Reformers, and upheld in the spirit of haughty intolerance? Yes, such is the nature of the contest in which the friends of

religious liberty, of Scriptural education, and of Missionary operations are now engaged with the Protestant Papacy. It is a moral conflict, but one that must be fought out, not in the pages of controversy, but in the actual arena of social exertion. There is no escape from it; and neutrality is, in this cause, treachery. No concession will be extorted from the Establishment, but by force, and peace can be won only by conquest. Our quarrel is not with the Church, which is in captivity to the Establishment, but with an Anti-Christian political system.

We could not refrain from entering thus largely into the topics glanced at in the Preface to the present volume; and we cannot but express our regret that a writer capable of so effectively serving the public interests of the Church at the present crisis, should have neutralised his influence, to a great extent, with both parties, by the ambiguous character he has assumed. The undertaking upon which he had entered, did not require him to break off from his historical researches 'concerning the rise and progress of the fatal errors that have obscured our holy religion,' in order to put forth a semi-political diatribe on 'the present crisis of Church power.' According to his original plan, (as announced in the Preface to "*Fanaticism*"), "*Superstition*" was to have been the next topic; and two other subjects were mentioned, as included in the series; namely, "*Corruption of Morals*," and "*Scepticism*". In treating each of these separately, it would have been inevitable, however, that he should take his reader repeatedly over the same ground; and all his stores of illustration and graphic powers would have been barely sufficient to preclude a sense of weariness and satiety. We cannot but wish, therefore, that, instead of giving us the natural history of each particular form or phase of error, he had concentrated his ample resources upon the illustration of a particular period of Church history in its entire features; or, if the severe style of history had not admitted of the play of imagination and the superb rhetoric in which he loves to indulge, that he had adopted the plan of biographical memoirs, and presented to us, in series, the life and times of the men of whom he has, with so masterly a hand, traced the portrait,—the Cappadocian Primate,—the learned, dogmatic Monk of Bethlehem,—Chrysostom, Augustine, or Bernard. The Church at large, and the literary public, would have appreciated the Author's labours in this neglected department; and he would have had no occasion to embroil himself in discussions of a political character. In the volumes on *Fanaticism* and *Despotism*, there are rich materials, which we could earnestly wish to see remoulded into a shape better adapted to occupy a permanent place in our literature. But we now turn with renewed pleasure to the volume before us.

What is wanted to re-invigorate living Christianity, but to heighten and strengthen in the mind of the believer a sense of things unseen, and an expectation of the judgement to come, so as to make the future constantly preponderate over the present, even in the midst of our active engagements and pursuits? Now, if we may judge from the impression on our own minds, this high moral purpose the inquiries to which we are here invited are pre-eminently adapted to promote. The physical theory of the future life, which the Author modestly propounds as a simple hypothesis, is, in the first place, if not a formal refutation of the theory of the materialist, at least a counterbalancing force of reasoning, the argument from analogy being sufficient to destroy the bare presumption upon which materialism founds itself. Many persons, however, who are not materialists, and who, if called upon for their opinion, would assert their belief in the separate existence of the conscious spirit,—are led by their *habits of thinking*, as Lord Brougham has remarked, to ‘consider matter ‘as the only certain existence.’ They have ‘no firm, definite, ‘abiding, precise idea of any other existence, respecting which ‘they can reason and speculate.’ Now effective belief is a habit of thinking; and even certain truths influence us only so far as they are brought into contact with our minds by habitual consideration. The ideas which even religious minds entertain of the future life are too much of that dreamy, indefinite, floating kind, which result from the habits of thinking induced by converse with material objects. Now upon these prejudices the present Work makes a strong and salutary assault, startling us out of a languid assent to the doctrine of another life, and bringing the certainty of our conscious survival of the present transitory mode of existence to bear upon the reason as a realizable fact. But let our Author himself explain and vindicate his design.

‘In advancing the conjectures which in the present Work he has hazarded, the Author has briefly stated some of those suppositions he has been accustomed to entertain, in reading the Scriptures, with the very view of catching every faint indication of things unseen, and that often are of a kind so obscure as to escape notice entirely, except when the mind is quickened, in an unusual manner, by the incitement of some general and consistent conception of the unseen economy. No sound mind is seduced from its sobriety longer than a few minutes by any such conception, how plausible soever it may seem. But, although not beguiled, the mind may be substantially aided by thus entertaining an hypothesis. Let, for example, some one such theory be distinctly digested, and the mind filled with it; let it be compared with whatever we know of the system of the universe, whether by analogy or observation; and then let the entire chain of Scripture evidence, critically examined, be gone over, with a view to this particular supposition. The consequence will be, perhaps, its absolute rejection; or

perhaps, it may so adjust itself with special points of the evidence as to forbid its total rejection, and so as may lead to its being held in reserve, to be compared with the results of inquiries conducted on some other principle.

‘But are such inquiries altogether idle, futile, and vain? Will those venture to say so, who entertain a due reverence for the canon of Scripture, and who believe that every separate portion of it is placed where it is found with a specific intention, and for an important end? Let it rather be believed as probable, that, if our Christianity is to recommend itself more extensively than hitherto it has done, to mankind at large, it will be, in part, by our obtaining some more enlarged conceptions of the great spiritual economy; conceptions such as may impart the force and vividness of reality to our faith in things unseen.’—pp. 310, 311.

In another part of the volume, we find the following correct explanation of the legitimate use of hypothetical speculations, such as those upon which the Author has ventured.

‘In this place again, the Author must urge the reader to bear constantly in mind, what are, and what are not, the legitimate uses of hypothesis in philosophical pursuits. An hypothesis, however plausible, is never to be ranged along with truths, or classed with things well proved, or suffered to fill a vacuity in our systems until it may be displaced by a better theory or by ascertained facts. This was the illusive practice of the ancient theorists; but it is now exploded. Hypothesis is a *preparation for reasoning*,—a preparation which shall save time, and prevent the overlooking of any facts that may hereafter present themselves, and which, should they occur, will instantly be noted and turned to the best account, as tending either to confirm or to explode the supposition already advanced. To use a familiar illustration, well-devised hypotheses are labeled drawers, always ready for the reception of facts fortuitously presented. In those branches of science which are open to experiment, it is hypothesis that leads the way in every instance.’—pp. 198, 199.

It is true, and our Author is fully awake to the consideration, that Christianity has suffered damage from vain and presumptuous intrusions into its mysteries; and such intrusion into things not seen, at the impulse of a carnal mind, is especially to be deprecated, ‘if, on the strength of even the most reasonable theory, we are led to bring into question a particle of that which the text of Scripture, duly interpreted, requires us to believe.’ But

‘it may also be injured, and perhaps in a more fatal, although more silent manner, by a cold withdrawal of all attention and all curiosity from the high themes of meditation which it involves. In fact, this is the very danger to which our religion is now exposed; nor is a too eager regard to things unseen by any means the fault of our times. There may then be a seasonableness in the endeavour to engage attention upon the tranquil but vivifying anticipation of another life;

and it is always true, that a distinct and familiar conception of it must aid us, as well in resisting the seductions of the present life, as in sustaining its pains and sorrows; nor does all the help we can obtain of this kind always prove enough to ensure a due repose of mind amid the agitating alternations of hope and fear that attend our path.

pp. 3, 4.

Such being the modest, cautious spirit of investigation, and such the practical design which the Author brings to his high task, the pious reader has nothing to fear in placing himself under his guidance; and, as we have already intimated, nothing can be more admirable than the philosophical sobriety of feeling which pervades the work, even in those parts where conjecture touches the nearest upon extravagance. But we must endeavour to give a succinct analysis of the Theory proposed to us.

“There is a spiritual body”. Christianity requires us to believe ‘in the actual survivance of our personal conscience *im-bodied*, and the perpetuity of our sense of good and evil, and ‘our continued sensibility of pain and pleasure, and the unbroken recollection, in another life, of the events and affections ‘of the present state.’ The philosophical doctrine of the pure immateriality of the soul, the inspired Writers leave untouched. They affirm no abstruse metaphysical doctrine concerning mind and matter, but the simple physiological fact, that there are two species of *corporeity*, destined for man; ‘the first, that of our ‘present animal and dissoluble organization, which we share, in ‘all its conditions, with the irrational, sentient tribes around us; ‘the second, a future spiritual structure, imperishable, and endowed with higher powers and prerogatives.’ The inquiry proposed respects those prerogatives in which the spiritual body shall excel the animal body; but, as preliminary to this, it is requisite to understand what it is in which the two must be supposed to agree.

The necessary conditions of corporeity, or of the combination of mind and matter, are the subject of investigation in the second chapter. Opposed as is the Author’s entire theory to the notion of the Materialist, he yet deems it reasonable to suppose, that ‘the union with matter, or the coming into a corporeal state, may ‘be, in fact, not a degradation to mind, but the very means of ‘its quickening, its birth into the world of knowledge and action;’—bringing it into relationship with *place*, which is a property of matter,—with motion, and with that of which motion is the measure,—time. Moreover, it is as im-bodied, that the mind ‘comes under the potent discipline of organic pleasures and ‘pains;’ and that, while exposed passively to the properties of the material world, it becomes possessed of a power over the solid and inert masses around it. To its corporeal connexion with the

material world, must be attributed also the mind's susceptibility of the mixed emotions of the class called imaginative, and of those modifications of the moral sentiments which arise from our animal desires. Finally, the corporeal alliance of mind and matter is conjectured to be 'the means of so defining our individuality in relation to others, as to bring minds under the conditions of a social economy.'

In proceeding to examine the several constituents of our corporeal existence, in order to ascertain of what extensions each faculty may be susceptible, the Author takes up, in the first place, the least intellectual of the faculties of the mind, its power to originate motion; and he contends that this power is *inherent* in the mind, being *limited* by the strength of the animal machinery.

'A man in full health is capable of far greater efforts than he ordinarily permits himself to make; and when this habitual restraint is thrown aside, as in cases of sudden peril, or of delirium and madness, the inherent mechanical force of mind is displayed, and it is seen that one lunatic or one desperate man exerts a power with which five or six, in their ordinary senses, can hardly cope. This same force, otherwise applied, would be enough, and much more than enough, to overcome the *vis inertiae* and the gravitation of the body, and to impart to it a velocity greater than that of the swiftest of birds.' p. 48.

It is therefore conceivable, that the future spiritual body, being of indestructible texture, and 'informed throughout by the energy of mind,' shall allow of locomotion by simple volition, as readily as the relative motion of the limbs follows it; and this, whether the bodily structure be subtile and ethereal as the magnetic fluid, or dense and ponderous as granite; since the one is not at all more self-motive than the other. And it is also supposable, that the power of volition over the chemical affinities of matter, as well as that which originates motion, may be enlarged in another state.

As the power to originate motion, or the command exercised by volition over matter, is, according to our Author's ingenious reasoning, inherent in the mind, and limited by the organic structure, so, he contends, perception is at once an *inherent* and a *circumscribed* faculty. 'The senses are *adits* of knowledge, and therefore exclusive and restrictive means of information.'

'The animal organization, with its medullary mass and nervous expansions, may be regarded not merely as a means of sensation, but as a means of abatement, or as a sheath, defending the percipient faculty of the mind, except at certain points, from the too forcible impressions of the external world. . . . The mind, perhaps, in this its present initial stage of existence, might scarcely be able to assert its rational supremacy, or to exercise its proper intellectual and moral functions, if it were exposed to as much sensation as it is inherently

capable of receiving. But, in its next stage of life, and when its active and higher principles have become mature, it may be well able to sustain, and advantageously to use, a much more ample correspondence with the material world than would now be good or possible. The boldest supposition we can entertain on this subject, ought not to be regarded as unphilosophical or extravagant, while we have proof before us of those vast extensions of our means of knowledge that have accrued from the improvement of the merely mechanical aids of the senses.' pp. 58, 59.

Proceeding to apply the same reasonings to the intellectual powers, the Author commences with that which seems, in a peculiar sense, a function of the brain, and which is the first of the mental powers to betray the incipient decay of the vital force,—the memory. It is obvious, that this organic mental faculty is susceptible of vast extension and enlargement, simply by an improvement of the bodily constitution. Set free from physical obstructions and infirmities, it might repossess itself, in full consciousness, of its entire past existence. The important consequences of such an extension of memory are very strikingly depicted.

'A rational agent, whatever were his other powers, who should be totally destitute of memory, (if, indeed, we can at all form such a conception,) must occupy a very low place in the scale of being; nor could either the vividness of his momentary impressions, or the energy or grasp of his reasoning faculties, in any degree compensate for the want of an intelligent recollection of his past existence. On the other hand, a being of inferior original endowments, but yet gifted with a perfect and invariable consciousness of the whole of his past course, could hardly fail rapidly to accumulate intellectual wealth, and to outstrip those of his competitors who were not gifted in the like manner. After a time, such a being would possess an *amount of consciousness*, if we may so speak, which, in itself, would be opulence and power. Man, in the present life, occupies a middle position between these two supposed cases; for his memory, with all its imperfections, and although it retains, at command, a small portion only of what is committed to its keeping, yet retains enough to secure the fruits of experience and study; and in what it actually embraces and performs, it gives a promise of far greater things when it shall be lodged in a corporeal structure liable to no decay or disturbance.'

'The abstract possibility of an entire restoration of memory, or of the recovery of absolutely the whole that it has ever contained, needs not be questioned; or, if it were, an appeal might be made to every one's personal experience; for we suppose there are none to whom it has not happened to have a sudden recollection, a flashing of some minute and unimportant incident of early life or childhood; and, perhaps, after an interval of forty or sixty years. With some persons, these unconnected and uncalled for reminiscences are frequent and very vivid; and they seem to imply that, although the mind may have lost its command over the entire stores of memory, and may

no longer be able to recall at will the remote passages of its history, yet the memory itself has not really parted with any of its deposits, but holds them faithfully, if not obediently, in reserve against a season when the whole will be demanded of it." pp. 73—75.

What is true of the memory, is true also of the law of mental suggestion or the association of ideas; that it depends very intimately upon the functions and condition of the brain, and upon animal sensation. Throughout infancy and childhood, the involuntary suggestion of ideas takes its course almost uncontrolled. The period of mental advancement is marked by the gradual and partial substitution of a rational law of suggestion, a voluntary, for an involuntary series of thoughts; and it is easy to imagine a state wherein the mind should acquire a complete command over the course of its ideas. It is conceivable, too, that the power of both fixing and sustaining the attention without fatigue or exhaustion, shall be a prerogative of the future spiritual body, as well as the greatly enhanced ability of carrying on several operations simultaneously. A further mental advantage which may reasonably be anticipated as likely to accrue from a more entire subserviency of the corporeal economy to the intellect, is 'an intuitive perception of abstract truths.' Another prerogative of the future corporeity, our Author, with much ingenuity shews, might consist in possessing a language which, both as an engine of cogitation, and a medium of communion, should 'transcend the most perfect of our mundane languages, as far as any one of our languages transcends the mute signs and awkward grimaces resorted to by men not understanding each other's tongue.' Finally, it is suggested as probable, 'that the future corporeal structure, whether it be ethereal or palpable, shall be the instrument of the mind, and nothing else,' having no animal wants, 'no purely organic welfare' to provide for. Each of these points is argued out with much ingenuity and beauty of illustration, so as to appear not so much the matter of conjecture as of natural and reasonable expectation. The conceivable possibility of such an enhancement and enlargement of the powers of human nature being thus brought within the grasp of the mind,—and the fact being disclosed by Revelation, that there are higher orders of beings who "excel in strength," and in some, at least, of these prerogatives, to whom man is destined to be made equal or similar in the future life*,—it is an inference scarcely to be evaded, that the intellectual perfection we are thus enabled to conceive of, will be the actual condition of imbodyed minds in the heavenly economy. But then the Author calls upon us to remember,—and the admonitory thought comes upon the mind

* *ισχυροί.* Luke xx. 36.

with tremendous emphasis, after pursuing these animating speculations,—that ‘no expectations we are enabled to form, on the ground of physical analogies, throw any light upon the momentous question, whether, in the next stage of our existence, we shall find ourselves MORE HAPPY, or less so than we are at present.’

Chapter X. ‘On the balanced probability of happiness and misery involved in the physical theory of another life,’ is the master-chapter of the volume, in which all the analogical reasonings and imaginative conjectures which have in series passed before the reader, are collected as it were into a moral focus; and the awful alternative of immortal happiness or misery, as actually awaiting every human being, stands out as a physiological fact, respecting which the deductions of philosophy are in accordance with the testimony of Revelation. This is the great practical lesson of the work; and we should deem it scarcely possible that any intelligent and thoughtful reader could rise from the perusal of this chapter without a deepened impression of the terrible certainties of the future state. We find it difficult to detach any paragraphs from the connexion in which they occur, without diminishing their effect, but we must give a specimen of the considerations here presented.

‘Let it then be imagined that the future man, new born to his inheritance of absolute mechanical force—the inherent force of mind, and finding himself able at will to traverse all space, should, in the very hour wherein he has made proof of his recent faculty, be stopped, either by malignant superior powers, or by the dread ministers of justice, and, on account of forgotten misdeeds, be seized, enchained, incarcerated! Might we not, with a rational consistency, and in conformity with some of the actual procedures of the present social system, imagine, for example, the merciless tyrant who in cold revenge has held the innocent in his dungeons through long years, or the ruffian slave-dealer, just bursting from the thralls of mortality, and proudly careering through mid-heaven; but only to encounter there some more fierce and stronger than himself, who, with mockery showing their warrant from Eternal Justice, shall grapple with his young vigour, hale him to the abyss, find there a chain strong enough to bind him, and rivet him to the rock, where he is to chafe, and taste the retributive miseries of captivity, and the fruitless strivings and writhings of a power sufficient, if it were not bound, to bear him from star to star! All this is so credible abstractedly, and so readily conceived of on the ground of common facts, that one can hardly think of it otherwise than as actually true.

‘Many similar conceptions, which often break upon the mind uncalled, and which even, when strictly examined, refuse to be dismissed as mere dreams—many such conceptions which, whether or not they have their archetypes in any region of the universe, are at least reasonable enough to answer the purpose of convincing us that those enhancements of our powers which are to be expected in a future life,

may be either the means of enjoyment, or the means of misery, according as our moral condition, and the great rules of the divine government, shall determine.'

* * * * *

'Our daily experience teaches us, that sensations which are pleasurable within a certain limit, are first uneasy, and then painful beyond it; so that agreeable sensation may be called the delicious initial stage of a process, the last stage of which, if it comes, is intolerable anguish. Every species of sensitive enjoyment needs a stay; and it is enjoyment so long only as it is moderated: in other words, the mind, in becoming conscious of the properties of matter, is laid open to the extremes of pleasure and pain; and it may endure the one as soon as enjoy the other: the most thrilling delights are but the a, b, c, of insupportable torment. What, for example, is an extreme case of neuralgia, but a point at the lower limit of the very scale upon which are marked the nice degrees of animal felicity? Only let the inherent sensitive faculty of the mind be entirely excoriated, if we might so speak, and itself be turned out upon the material world, to feel and to taste, without abatement, the whole stress of all its properties, and it must suffer anguish in a thousand modes. In the present animal body, the mind's sensitiveness to light, for instance, is sheathed and restricted: how small is the optic expansion, and how is this small surface curtained, and provided with means of seclusion! The mind converses with light in a jealous way, and much as the besieged hold a parley with the besiegers, when the latter are ten thousand to one of the former; that is to say, a few of the enemy only are admitted within the gates at a time. Fully exposed to the vibrations of light, the mind, even at the dimmest twilight, would suffer an agony of excitement; and under the beams of noon must be maddened with torment. Need we go on to speak of heat, of which the lowest degrees only are pleasurable, while a slight augmentation of its intensity totally vanquishes the fortitude of ordinary minds; and none, perhaps, could retain self-command longer than a few minutes, if left to feel its extremity. And let it be remembered, that although the animal texture, the muscular fibre, the nerve, and the vessels, are presently dissolved, or consumed, by the action of fire, and so the animal anguish reaches its end, yet that we assume far too much, if we conclude that the sensitive faculty of the mind is itself liable to any such dissolution. Fire reduces to vapour or to ashes, that which, by its nature, may exist indifferently in a solid and organized, or in a gaseous, or a pulverized form. But is the mind susceptible of vaporization, or can it be reduced to powder? We suppose not, and therefore believe it might sustain, undestroyed and undamaged, the utmost intensity of heat; nor is it certain that every species of corporeity must give way, and be dissipated by this element.

'There is room for the same statement in relation to every property of matter, which we find intensely to affect the sensitive principle; such as the corrosive poisons; and perhaps we owe it, at present, to the insensibility of our animal organization, or to its neutralizing inertness, that the material world does not, in a thousand modes, affect us

as do arsenic and oxalic acid when taken into the stomach. Enough we know to be sure, that (apart from considerations of a religious kind) the probabilities of enhanced pleasure or pain, in coming more fully into contact with matter and its properties, are evenly balanced.'

* * * * *

'Once more ; let it be considered that, although the absolute subordination of the corporeal faculties to the will and purposes of the mind, and the consequent absence of separate bodily interests, must be felt as a high advantage, and an incalculable benefit, by those who are conscious that they are steadily pursuing the real welfare of the spirit, and are pursuing it on the true path ; the feeling must be the very reverse in any case in which it is known that these real and permanent interests have been desperately compromised, and that the course upon which the spirit is rushing forward is one of madness, folly, damage, and despair. In the present state, we often owe much of the alleviation of mental distress to the constantly recurring necessity of caring for the body ; and sometimes even the very sufferings of the body gratefully relieve the heart of the otherwise incessant burden of its griefs : there is a diversion, an alternation, and a relief, arising merely from the shifting of our cares and pains.

'But if the body has no longer any wants, and has no separate welfare to be thought of ; if it be nothing but the mind's passive instrument, and its medium of action and sensation ; and if, at the same time, the mind knows that it has fallen far back from the course of hope and happiness, if its well-being has been sported with and thrown away, then must a brooding melancholy and remorse fix themselves without intermission upon the soul, and its misery must become unmingled. Here again we are not dreaming of things altogether unreal and fantastic ; but are only imagining this our actual human nature, and our actual modes of feeling, at work in their accustomed manner, under a change of circumstances ; and this change too, such as has a rational connection with the known principles of the intellectual system.

'Our conclusion then is, (as stated at the commencement of this digressive chapter,) that although we may reasonably anticipate certain enhancements of the powers of human nature to take place in a future stage of its progress, yet that none of these additions or improvements necessarily involves an increase of happiness ; but, on the contrary, is in itself as likely to bring with it an intensity of suffering. The question, therefore, whether we are to be more happy in another world than at present, or less so, must be determined by reasons that are to be sought for altogether from a different quarter. Any Physical Theory of another Life must leave this anxiety just where it found it.' pp. 125—142.

We must pass over the recondite speculations of the next chapter as to the probable construction of the spiritual body ; and must very briefly advert to the striking train of remarks which occupy Chapter XII., and which are designed to shew that the future life, although our persuasion of it rests primarily upon

miraculous evidence, will be a transition strictly analogous to the natural transformations which are taking place throughout the animated world, and, so far, a *natural* event. Against some of the statements in this chapter, it may be objected, that the Author's theory seems to make death itself, not a penal infliction upon the human family, but 'a natural epoch in the history of a creature destined, from the first, to metamorphoses and far extended progression.' His reply to such objection would be, we presume, that the threatened penalty of death consisted partly in the degradation of the body, by its resolution into dust, but still more in the spiritual death induced by transgression; and that any transformation which man may have been originally destined to undergo, would no more have involved suffering, or any thing belonging to our notion of death, than the change which will, in a moment, pass upon the surviving occupants of the earth's surface at the last day. Chapter XIII. places before us in a very striking light, the momentous practical truth, 'that the physical and the moral nature are so thoroughly independent one of the other, as that the greatest imaginable revolution passing upon the former, shall leave the latter simply what it was.'

'At the moment of recognising our personal consciousness after passing through the future physical transformation, what we must fix upon will unquestionably be our habitual emotions, tastes, and moral dispositions; for it is these that constitute the very core of our being; and it is these that must stand out, with so much the more characteristic distinctness, when whatever was accidental and adjunctive has fallen off from us. All merely animal sensations will have been superseded; all mechanical and technical habits will have lost their means and occasions; the intellectual furniture will, for the most part, or perhaps entirely, have given place to knowledge of a more direct and substantial kind; but the sentiments we have cherished, and the affections that have settled down upon the mind, and which constitute its character—these, now, with a bold and prominent supremacy, will make up the continuity of our consciousness, and compel us to confess ourselves the same. Much indeed that belonged to our first stage of existence, will, in the retrospect, appear shadowy and unimportant; but not so any of those events or courses of conduct that shall be found to have created or controlled our moral being.

'It is plain that if any species of being is to pass under a renovating process, the process must be of a kind analogous to the properties which are to be so transformed: thus, for instance, it can be nothing but a physical power and a series of physical transitions that must translate an animal from one condition of organization to another; and thus too, it can be nothing else but a moral process, or a working upon the *affections* by *motives*, that can effect a transition from one moral condition to another. It is indeed easy to admit the illusion that, if we were but translated to a purer sphere, and were but exempted from certain evil influences, we should at once become vir-

tuous; but a supposition such as this will not bear to be examined; for although external causes may have had a powerful influence, at first, in producing our present moral dispositions, and so in determining our character, these dispositions, when once formed, possess a fixed continuity of their own, which is by no means destroyed merely by removing the exterior influences whence they arose: and moreover, such dispositions, or settled passions, when actually generated and consolidated, include a reproductive energy;—they are living powers; they vegetate, and cover the entire surface of the soul. The moral nature then, or the personal character, far from being open to renovation merely by the means of a physical transition from one mode of life to another, or by a passage from one system of circumstances to another, is not to be rectified, if at all, otherwise than by its coming under the operation of congruous influences; that is to say, it must be wrought upon by moral considerations, and be swayed by reasons.

‘An instantaneous change, either from good to evil, or from evil to good, effected in a sovereign manner by a foreign power, and effected irrespectively of an economy of motives, would rather be the annihilation of one being, and the creation of another, than the changing of the character of the same being; for it is of the very nature of a change of character, that there be an internal process, a concurrence of the will, and an attendant yielding of the rational faculties to rational inducements, and also the giving way of one species of desires, and of one class of habits, to another. While therefore it consists perfectly with the abstract reason of things, and with what we see around us in nature, to expect that the future transition from the present mode of existence to another will be effected immediately by the divine power, it directly contradicts, not merely the reason of things abstractedly, but our actual knowledge and experience of the principles of the moral and intellectual system, to hope for any such sovereign renovation of our dispositions, as consequent upon an enlargement of our faculties, or upon a change of scene, circumstance, and society. That the Sovereign Benevolence may indeed, if it pleases, so touch the springs of our motives as to bring about effectively a change of character, is by no means to be denied; and indeed such an act of grace lies at the foundation of that economy of mercy under which we are now placed; but then this exertion of spiritual influence always flows in the channel of moral means and inducements; nor are we entitled to look for it under any other conditions than those explicitly laid down and solemnly insisted upon by the inspired writers, who strictly confine our expectations of efficacious grace to the present economy, and who, in the tones of awful warning, announce *this* to be the day of salvation, and *this* the accepted season of mercy.’ pp. 171—175.

The correspondence between the present and the future employment of the active principles of human nature, is briefly treated of in the next chapter. The general idea is borrowed from Butler; but the consideration acquires new force from the views which have been unfolded of the physical conditions of the future life. With this chapter closes what may be considered as the First Part of the Work, comprising the Author’s theory of

another life, 'so far as it is to be drawn from a consideration of 'the present structure of human nature, bodily and mental.' In the remaining six chapters, it is attempted 'to give some sort of 'hypothetical consistency to the several elements of our conceptions, as related to the theatre upon which' that future life 'is 'to take its course.' Of these chapters we shall attempt no analysis. They form the most curious, original, and profoundly ingenious portion of the work; but it is here that the Author will be deemed by many of his readers to give the reins too loosely to conjecture, and to play the *aéronaut* in philosophy. His conjectures, however, are not less magnificent than bold; and if they add nothing to our knowledge, they read a salutary lesson to our ignorance, shewing how infinitely the unknown transcends the utmost discoveries of science, and how absurd is the presumption which would make experience the plumb-line to fathom infinity.

In the concluding chapter, on the Advancement of Pneumatology, there are some very interesting speculations upon the functions of the brain, and the principle of life as distinct from organization, which well deserve the attention of the physiologist, and to which we may take a future opportunity of adverting.

In closing this volume, which we do with feelings of enhanced admiration for the commanding powers of mind and elevated piety displayed by the Author, we have only a few remarks to add. Considered simply as a contribution to Natural Theology, it appears to us extremely valuable; the view which it exhibits of the latent capabilities and applicabilities of the human mind, affording a new and beautiful illustration of the wisdom, goodness, and omnipotent skill of the Father of Spirits. And we think it may be useful in another respect. It has been adduced as one strong recommendation of the terrestrial dreams of Millenarianism, that they present to the mind 'an easier, and therefore 'a more practical subject of contemplation, than any which is 'derivable from the misty notions of a region of felicity apart 'and separate from all the habits of the present world.' Now all attempts to assist the faith through the medium of the fancy, more especially by lowering heaven to the level of our earthly prejudices and gross conceptions, we must regard as alike fallacious and pernicious. But no such objection applies to anticipations founded upon analogical reasoning, such as are here presented to contemplation; and we would fain hope, that this *Physical Theory* may serve, in some quarters, as a corrective of visionary speculations, and an antidote to the Millenarian fanaticism.

There is one consideration which, we think, might with propriety have been adverted to, in treating of the future spiritual body, although it did not lie in the track of the Author's analogical

reasonings; the revealed fact, that the bodies of the saints are to be transformed after the model of that Glorious Body* in which resides the fulness of the Godhead. More than all the prerogatives with which the Author's theory invests the future corporeity, are actually possessed by Him who has "entered into heaven to appear in the presence of God for us;" yet, the body in which he ministers as Mediator, must still retain the essential conditions of the nature he has assumed. 'We nothing doubt,' to use the beautiful language of Hooker, 'but God hath, many ways above the reach of our capacities, exalted that body which it hath pleased him to make his own, that body wherewith he hath saved the world, that body which hath been and is the root of eternal life; the instrument wherewith Deity worketh, the sacrifice which taketh away sin, the price which hath ransomed souls from death, *the leader of the whole army of bodies that shall rise again.* For though it had a beginning from us, yet God hath given it vital efficacy, Heaven hath endowed it with celestial power, that virtue it hath from above, in regard whereof all the Angels of Heaven adore it. Notwithstanding, a body still it continueth, a body consubstantial with our bodies.† Here the learned Writer should have stopped; but he adds—'a body of the same both nature and *measure* which it had on earth'; whereas it is evident, that a change similar to that which must pass upon all the sons of immortality at the last day, has already transfigured that Body of Glory—τὸ σῶμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ—to which these vile bodies, when raised in power, shall be conformed. "For in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead BODILY."‡

The present Work will answer a valuable purpose, if it has the effect of carrying forward the devout expectations of the pious with more intentness and fixedness to the Resurrection itself; an event which seems to have been ever present to the minds of the Apostles and primitive Christians, but which, we fear, occupies very little of the thoughts of modern believers. Upon this "blessed hope", the consideration to which we have just adverted sheds a ray of celestial brightness. There is, indeed, some danger lest, in retreating from the cheerless dogmas of the Materialist, we fall into the opposite error of a sickly Immaterialism, such as heathen philosophy dreamed of, before "Life and Immortality were brought to light." The present Author combats both these opposite errors, wisely distrusting the conclusiveness of that reasoning which would infer the immortality of the soul from its immaterial nature. Apart from Revelation, the strongest evidence of the future life is not of this metaphysical character, but is to be found in the moral constitu-

* Phil. iii. 21.

† Eccl. Pol. B. v. § 54.

‡ Col. ii. 9.

tion of our nature,—in that sense of accountableness which infallibly foreshews a day of account,—in faculties, and affections, and moral qualities which imply a destiny far outstretching the present shadowy and transitory term of being. For

What is this moral life? Of conscious power
 The brute partakes: he thinks, and feels, and knows.
 Say, is it mind or matter which thus shews
 Like reason? Yet, in common, with the flower,
 Insect, or worm, the enjoyment of his hour
 Of being is his all; and death its close.
 Not so the life that changes as it grows,
 Knowledge of good and ill its fearful dower;
 The life of spirit, which is choice and will,
 And by its choice self-shaped, becoming what
 It loves and seeks,—essential good or ill;
 Its character foreshadowing its lot;
 A life which foes or tyrants cannot kill,—
 Which death that slays the body, harmeth not.

Art. II. *The whole Question of Final Causes*; a Dissertation, in Three Parts, with an Introductory Chapter on the Character of Modern Deism. By W. J. Irons, M.A., of Queen's College, Oxford, and Curate of St. Mary's, Newington. 8vo. pp. viii. 222. London, 1836.

THE censurable portions of this Work, and they are many, whether we regard the principles it advocates or the prejudices it betrays, may be fairly traced, we think, to the Author's early impressions, and to the character of the University where he completed his education. His aversion to Calvinism, though matured at Oxford, most probably grew out of the circumstances of his youth. At that period, he was accustomed to hear the most revolting dogmas propounded as essential Christian verities. He was taught to consider the Divine mercy as a powerless attribute, arrested in its descent by an absolute decree which it could not pass; the atonement, that great charter of a world, as the inheritance of a favoured few,—as denied to all who could not articulate a certain Shibboleth, and adopt a fanatical creed which neither requires nor is sustained by "the things that accompany salvation." All others he heard denounced as reprobates, for whom it was not lawful to cherish compassion, nor even to pray. This, and much more of the same kind, Mr. Irons was instructed to regard as Calvinism, and the only genuine Calvinism. Repulsive as such a system must have been to a mind imbued with the spirit of true Christianity, yet, judging from his present views and sentiments, we are compelled to believe that Mr. Irons was

less shocked by its intense bigotry, than by the coarse illiteracy and vulgar harshness with which it appealed to his auricular nerves and disturbed his sensorium. Calvinism, indeed, in the popular sense of the term, he has abandoned,—but for what? For the opposite extreme. But extremes sometimes strangely meet; and of this Mr. Irons has furnished another and a striking exemplification. In getting rid of an exclusive creed, he takes refuge in an exclusive church: renouncing doctrines that confine salvation to the faith which appropriates them, he seeks the bosom of a hierarchy that restricts it within still narrower limits, leaving all other churches, save that of Rome, to the uncovenanted mercy of God. In fact, Mr. Irons has only exchanged one species of ultra-Calvinism for another, the dogmatic for the geographical, the reprobation of a theological, for the reprobation of an ecclesiastical institute.

In the following passage, he affords us a glimpse of the kind of impression which he received from the pseudo-religious teaching of his boyhood.

‘Without doubt, our holy religion is suited to all the possible exigencies of man; but who shall wonder that it is not more prosperous, while it is associated, by its advocates, with principles that “decay, wax old, and are ready to vanish away?” or delivered in an antiquated style which is conceived to be “Evangelical,” because it bears a faint analogy to the stately diction of our Church formularies, or our English translation of the Bible? It is surely possible to clothe the truths of our religion in language as plain and chaste as any other truth will admit of; and why then must they be any longer associated with the barbarous phrases of a barbarous age,—with a quaint theological language, the offspring of perverted taste, and decrepit intellect? Men whose whole theology is contained in one idea, or one small circle of ideas, will perhaps be inclined to denounce a purity of style which they might not be able to imitate; or to retain for themselves those consecrated words and licensed phrases which have so long supplied the place of thought. But, if we would see Christianity maintain that lofty situation which is its right; if we would see the most knowing infidel abashed before its dignity, we must see to it that we are guiltless of encumbering its purity with worn out crudities, and studied vulgarity.’ pp. 19, 20.

His *Alma Mater* received him at the precise moment when his ultra-Calvinism and sectarian intolerance were ready to breathe their spirit through other forms, and to animate with dangerous vitality a system more in conformity with intellectual pride and worldly ambition. We do not wonder, therefore, that he became a staunch Oxonian, maintaining that the Church of England is the only true Apostolical Church; that Romanists and Infidels are not only her natural and inveterate enemies, but that they have laid aside their former differences, and formed a close alliance

for the sole purpose of effecting her destruction. Here he 'talks Utopia.' But let him speak for himself. His mood, as the reader will perceive, is exalted by the occasion, and he indulges in the grandiloquent as the style best adapted to the solemnity of his theme. Yes! Roman Catholics and Infidels are instigated by one consentaneous impulse. The Church is in danger. Herod and Pontius Pilate are now friends, for they have one common object on which to wreak their united vengeance; and that is the only bulwark of the Truth, the only citadel where religion finds an asylum,—the Church of England, the Church as by law established. For the demolition of this sacred edifice, men of all religions and of no religion, but especially Romanists and Deists, have struck hands.

'Our Reformed Church now emulates the learning of her early confessors and martyrs, but seems almost fearful of a revival of their enthusiastic zeal for God and truth; and Romanism and Infidelity have taken signal advantage of her error. For with them may now be found the popular eloquence of the press, the pulpit, and the platform! Their wisdom despises not auxiliaries so strong: they have abandoned their ancient hatred to each other; and hoping, at length, to enlist on their side the honest earnestness and powerful prejudices of the populace, they have united their forces, for open war beneath banners inscribed with the outraged name of "Liberal!" The Infidel, as the more powerful of the two allies, dictates the terms of the confederacy; and the Romanist, as the reward of his faithfulness to the common cause, claims to be second ruler in the kingdom of the New Antichrist.

'There was a time when less of policy was wont to mark the counsels of the Infidel; there was a time—nor has it long passed by—when the apostles of disbelief, inspired with fiendly madness, foamed forth their rabid blasphemies of the "rights of"—devils, to lay waste the peace of earth and defy the majesty of heaven! What marvel was it, that then, all men, as by a common instinct, recoiled from the hideous absurdities of possessed savages—the unnatural enormities of naked demoniac ferocity? But now the Infidel and his new ally have left unused no popular artifice, which fraud could suggest or dishonesty employ. They are conciliatory in their tone, and moderate, though steady and undisguised in their advances. They enter on no sudden crusade against the established opinions of the multitude; but rather engage their worst passions in their favour, by directing all their fierce hostility against, what they insolently call, the "bigotry" of those who are the staunch foes alike of irreligion and superstition, and who are, as yet, the authorized teachers of our people.

'But Romanism can, in this country, and in these times, only advance, under the protection of the ample shield of "liberal" infidelity, and it behoves us to know well this our arch-enemy.

'The infidelity of this age assumes a Deistic rather than a sceptical or Atheistic form. If it had been otherwise, it could not have kept terms with Popery. If it had been otherwise, it could never have become extensively popular. It seems to be tacitly admitted that there is a kind of germ of "natural religion," which is the only

essential part of every creed that is found among men ; which the philosopher may see and appreciate in them all, while he winks at the peculiar follies which may accompany it. The coarse and infamous maxim, which, at its first announcement long since was repudiated with disgust, now passes current among us—"that a man is no more accountable for his religious belief, than for the colour of his dress." This it is which is now vaunted as "liberality." Need I bid the Christian to recall, and place side by side with this impiety, (this black stigma upon the veracity of God!) the dread denunciations, on the one hand, or the "hope full of immortality," on the other, wherewith our divine master accompanied his message of salvation to man? —But "liberality" is now "all in all," and honesty passes for nothing! Liberality, which, being interpreted, means nothing less than latitude in religion, and *discontent in politics* *. There are those, even in what is called (perhaps to distinguish it from the church) the "religious world," who cherish this spirit, which wears so fair a name. There are those (and it were needless to define them more plainly) who find a specious "common ground" whereon they may meet and associate with the professor, or the despiser, of every creed ; who seem to imagine that a "voluntary" surrender of honesty, is to be regarded as the precursor of a smooth millennium now gradually drawing nigh! A prospect, indeed, less like to that which the thoughtful Christian may look for, than to the delusive dreams of the visionary philanthropist ; which yet (alas!) are too often deemed sufficient data for the fantastic schemes of our economic and reforming patriots!

'The Christian Church of this realm has, indeed, a powerful enemy to encounter—an enemy, at one time, vindictive and fierce, with menacing brow, and insulting tongue ; at another, approaching with gentle smiles and words of courtesy. But our church is not now ignorant of her dangers ; and let her not be unmindful of the honour, which, in past times as well as these present, has been conferred upon her ; in that she is selected as the "witness for the truth!"—for she will answer it to her God, if she be either awed by terrors, or seduced by treacherous wiles!' pp. 9—12.

It is easy to perceive for what meridian this is intended. But whether an author who so ill disguises the 'Final Cause' by which he is induced to inflame the bigotry and fanaticism of one party at the expense of the outraged feelings and social rights of another, will succeed in his ambitious views, we much question ; the time is gone by. Tory misrule is making its dying struggle in the Church, whose pious dignitaries and underlings watch its convulsive throes with the deepest sympathy. We hope Mr. Irons will live to perform its obsequies.

Mr. Irons, though a little too intemperate for the veteran polemic, appears to be tolerably well versed in the tactics which characterize the school to which he belongs. With this school it is a standing stratagem, to represent their church, or, as Mr. Irons modestly designates it, 'the Christian Church of this realm,' as

* A fearful charge against at least nine-tenths of the clergy of the present day.

always in danger,—as ‘having a powerful enemy to encounter.’ The design of this is, that she may constantly alarm the State for her safety, and thus secure her ill-got and enormous wealth, preserve her arrogant exclusiveness, and give vent to her cold, calculating, yet furious intolerance.

‘The principal enemy’ by which she is now beleaguered is ‘liberality,’—‘the parent and the patron of modern infidelity,’ who is the great leader of the hosts of Romanism so busily employed at this moment, some in sapping the foundation, and others in carrying the citadel.

As there is some ingenuity in getting up this fiction, which, in proportion as it is believed, becomes in the eyes of many a tremendous reality, it may not be amiss, so far as it is the work of Mr. Irons, to unravel the device. Let us approach the formidable monster; for, however appalling in the distance, its terrors vanish before a nearer approximation.

To the monstrous evils inherent in the Church of Rome, and to the withering power with which infidelity, where it prevails, throws its desolating blight over the fairest fruits of human virtue and happiness, we cannot be insensible; nor do we wish to abate the salutary horror with which they ought to be regarded. But is this indeed the time for their creating serious alarm? Is the era of light the season most favourable to the perpetration of the works of darkness? What is Romanism, as a religion? In this view, what hold has it upon the popular mind? What is it as a Church? Should we be aware of its existence, if the political and civil wrongs of the Irish Catholics were redressed? So far as the Church of England prevents the fair and equitable settlement of the momentous questions which these wrongs involve, Romanism is opposed to her; or rather, Róman Catholics, feeling themselves despoiled by her rapacity, and degraded by her arrogant ascendancy, will never rest satisfied till, as men and Britons, they obtain for themselves just and true liberty,—equal and impartial liberty. Our ‘holy religion’ (meaning Christianity, and not the prelatical, tithe-loving, and rate-demanding hierarchy of England) has nothing to dread from the subtlety or the zeal of Rome; and so far as the Church of England is really Protestant and not political, she is equally secure. What she holds by injustice and maintains by violence, will be wrested from her grasp by the spirit of the age and the force of public opinion. But Romanism and Deism, as such, will have nothing to do in achieving the glorious victory. And after it is achieved, what interest can either the one or the other possibly have, in seeking the destruction of a Church which will then no longer stand between them and the enjoyment of their rights and privileges as men and citizens? Romanism can have no quarrel with her corruptions of doctrine, her ceremonies, in so many respects identical

with its own, her *opus-operatum* sacraments, and the apostolical descent of her absolving and denouncing priesthood, the dispensers of the Holy Ghost, and the arbiters of human destiny. Indeed, so nearly does the semi-papistical Church of England approximate in spirit and character to the Church of Rome, that if either Church possessed wealth enough to satisfy the luxury, pride, and pomp of both, there exists little, we apprehend, of just cause or impediment to prevent their union. 'Liberalism', Mr. Irons tells us, 'is the parent and the patron of modern infidelity.' We have been accustomed to trace it to another origin. Liberalism, meaning latitudinarian opinions and an equal indifference to all creeds, is not the precursor of infidelity; it usually succeeds some violent conflict between this power and superstition, and, as a moral calm, is probably more dangerous than the tempest in its utmost fury. This, we imagine, is not the liberalism intended by Mr. Irons: what he means by it is the searching and uncompromising spirit of the age, which refuses to tolerate the venerable abuses of the Church of England, which will not admit the exclusiveness of her claims, which would compel her to draw her support from her own resources, to abandon the tithes and rates,—the one ruinous to the commercial and agricultural prosperity of the country, and the other founded in injustice, and fraught with every evil which threatens the disorganization of society;—the liberalism which maintains that the Bible, the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants, and which will not allow any Church to deprive the members of other communions, whether Catholic or Protestant, of their civil and social equality. With this liberalism, infidels, or the rejectors of the Christian Revelation, are far more at variance than they can be with any secular establishment of Christianity. These are the institutions which supply them with their strongest arguments against religion, nor would they willingly consent to the removal of one of their abuses. The Gallican Church gave to France and to Europe her Voltaires, D'Alemberts, and Diderots, while she retained among her highest dignitaries their admirers and disciples. Atheism is bred in religious establishments; and if these establishments have large prizes to awaken the cupidity of ambition, and if these be at the disposal of mere worldly and political patronage, we can see nothing in the principles of infidelity that would deter infidels from wearing the clerical and even prelatical habits. Nor would they be the first or the only wolves that have appeared in sheep's clothing. We put it to Mr. Irons, whether he does not believe, that thousands of infidels are nominal members of his Church; and whether, if that Church were to reform herself into a spiritual institution, he is of opinion that one of them would remain. Infidelity is a parasite; it is not in its nature to stand alone. It finds its best support and most

congenial nourishment among the sacred nooks and crevices of temples and altars, where the presiding deity is Mammon. Edifices, ostensibly reared to the honour of the Christian Redeemer, but really dedicated to the god of this world, and built by his votaries, engender, in their very foundations, the seeds of a most prolific infidelity, which at length not only covers the walls, but penetrates through the entire mass.

If there be at this moment among our people a species of infidelity which assumes the attitude of hostility to true religion and the Divine mission and character of Christ, and which at the same time renounces all connexion with every portion of his visible church, then we may be perfectly sure that it is not for Romanism, as the antagonist of the Church of England, that such avowed infidels contend. All churches are alike to them; and they only so far act in concert with the Romanist, as his views on civil and political questions are in accordance with theirs.

We are a little surprised that policy does not induce the clergy of the Church of England to moderate, rather than to exaggerate their statements on the growth and progress of Popery and Infidelity. What are such statements but bills of indictment drawn up against themselves? It was when men slept that the enemy sowed tares; and it is because the clergy of a richly endowed Establishment have been notoriously deficient in the discharge of their sacred functions, that Romanism and infidelity have among us 'a local habitation and a name.' Protestantism, with more wealth at its command than any church in Christendom, with twenty thousand clergy, all paid and employed to enlighten the people, and to root out by the diffusion of religious knowledge every form of delusion and error, and with a clear stage for its operations for three hundred years,—comes forward in the face of Heaven to tell the world of its utter inefficiency. Nor does it shrink from the humiliating confession, that the Canaanites, that so long since ought to have been driven out of the land, have grown into a formidable host, at whose approach it cannot conceal its terrors.

Mr. Irons is anxious to impress his readers with the belief, that Deism, under the garb of liberalism, is an enemy far more to be dreaded even than Romanism, with which it is in such close alliance;—for he more than insinuates, that the greater number of the advocates of liberal measures, both in and out of Parliament, with all the leaders political and literary, are infidels. The war against our holy religion began with the Catholic concessions; and with what fearful catastrophe it will terminate, he does not dare to trust his speculations, though his prophetic soul seems to apprehend the worst:—'coming events cast their shadows before.'

The sum and substance of all this Tory balderdash seems to

be this: Justice to Ireland must not be conceded. The people and priests, because they are Catholics, must be regarded as Helots; and every attempt to govern them on the liberal principles to which the union of the two countries entitles them, must be denounced as an infidel movement to subvert the Christian religion,—meaning thereby the Protestant Church. Every effort of Catholics to emancipate themselves from the Protestant yoke of bondage must be condemned as a struggle for political and ecclesiastical ascendancy; and every statesman that aids them in the good cause must be stigmatized as an unbeliever, who has not only denied the faith, but is engaged in actual warfare against it. This is Mr. Irons's device to preserve the rankest abuses of his church, and to secure untouched all the ancient sources of her temporalities.

But this is not the avowed design of his Work, which is a Dissertation in three parts, 'On the whole Doctrine of Final Causes;'—a subject for the consideration of schoolmen and metaphysicians in the quiet seclusion of the study, far apart from the stormy regions of politics and all the scenes which excite and agitate the passions. But what will our readers think, when we assure them, that the leading object of the book, and which is scarcely lost sight of through its successive pages, is to shew up the Deism or the infidelity of Lord Brougham; while the Author frequently adopts his Lordship's principles and arguments, differing from him only on some unimportant points, where he either misunderstands or misrepresents him? If nature is not to be appealed to for the purpose of working out some notices of her Divine Author, and of arriving at some conclusions from the exhibition of so many great and wonderful works, which are profanely baptized with her name, why do the Scriptures so often affirm a Natural Theology, and so much more frequently proceed upon its admitted principles? If this be indeed no more than a 'fictitious science,' why has Mr. Irons undertaken the consideration of the whole question of Final Causes, which, in fact, includes the science of which he speaks so disparagingly? It would be well if Mr. Irons were seriously to consider how far Coleridge's Doctrine of Reason, as distinguished from the Understanding, is at variance with some of the assumptions of Lord Brougham. After all Mr. Irons's special pleading against his Lordship's belief in Revelation, will he venture to say, that the noble Author any where insinuates that Natural Theology contains in any proper sense a religion,—or that it renders such a divine system as Christianity unnecessary or improbable? It appears to us, as far as it regards revealed religion, and when politics and party feelings are out of the question, that Mr. Irons and Lord Brougham are equally concerned to press upon their readers, from their different views of final causes, the necessity of a Revelation.

Take Mr. Irons's minimum, so to speak, of Natural Theology, and it shews this necessity : take, if you please, Lord Brougham's maximum, and it only carries us a little nearer to the object, and, as we think, adds strength to the conviction, that nature discovering so much and no more, a direct communication to man, revealing his duty and his destiny, is not only indispensable to his happiness, but infinitely probable. Mr. Irons establishes Lord Brougham's infidelity so successfully, that his reasoning fixes the same imputation upon Dr. Paley.

It would have afforded us much pleasure, could we have dwelt on other portions of this very clever, but, we must also add, very pretending publication, at the length which their intrinsic value would seem to justify. The most superficial mind must perceive that Mr. Irons undertakes to treat subjects confessedly beyond the grasp of an ordinary intellect, and which require in their elucidation various and profound learning, great astuteness, much hard thinking, and an extensive acquaintance with the history of metaphysical science. These qualifications Mr. Irons possesses in a degree highly creditable to his talents and industry ; and if he has indeed read the authors, ancient and modern, he quotes so copiously, his application at college must have been prodigious. His controversial dexterity appears in the following animadversions on Dr. Paley's well-known illustration of the watch. We have no dispute with him as to the general conclusions which he derives from it in support of his particular argument ; while he knows as well as we do, that the principle which Dr. Paley assumes, remains untouched, and is capable of being maintained by any given fact, of a less complex nature, which might awaken the curiosity, and compel the admission even of a savage, that what manifests design leads inevitably to the admission of Creating Intelligence.

'It is supposed, that in passing over a heath a man might strike his foot against a watch, and, though he had never seen one before, might, from an examination of its various and nicely adjusted machinery, conclude, that "its parts are framed and put together for a purpose, e. g., that they are so formed and adjusted as to produce motion, and that motion so regulated as to point out the hour of the day ;" &c.

'In this case, says Paley, "The inference is inevitable, that the watch must have had a maker ; that there must have existed, at some time and at some place or other, an artificer, or *artificers*, who formed it for the purpose, which we find it actually to answer, who comprehended its construction, and designed its use." This case is contrasted triumphantly with the accidental notice of a stone, which, it is *presumed*, would exhibit no fitness of parts, or adaptation to an end. It is not my intention to dwell on this assumption, further than to remark, that it might on analysis appear, that the parts of the stone had a mutual fitness, as well as those of the watch. A minute investigation might make it appear, that the proportions in which the parts of that stone combined, followed a numerical law of exquisite sim-

plicity, and incalculable extent; perhaps even pervading universal nature: and if the ultimate ends to which that particular stone was adapted, were not so *evident* as in the instance of the watch, yet, if the one afforded a probable argument for Design, so might the other; and the probability would, at the best, only vary in degree. But I am of opinion that neither the one, nor the other, taken alone, would afford sufficient data for any such argument; and, as the watch is considered the stronger case of the two, I shall keep to that.

‘It is true enough, that *we* can perceive Evidences of Design in a watch. We have a great deal of knowledge, which enables us to perceive those Evidences; but it is perfectly groundless to suppose, that they would be perceived by a man who had not our knowledge, to a very considerable extent.

‘Let it be noted, that the man who (according to Paley) finds the watch, does not draw one simple conclusion, but two; and the distinguishing of these two will be of the greatest importance.

‘From examining the structure and action of this mysterious thing, he concludes, first, That it points out the hours of the day; and secondly, That such an adaptation of the watch to the day, is a highly *probable* argument for an intelligent watchmaker.

‘This second conclusion depends wholly on the first. What, then, does the first depend on?—It must evidently depend on the man’s previous knowledge of the natural disposition of day and night, and of the artificial division of time, into hours and minutes. This latter requisite involves the necessity of, I had almost said, a species of moral qualification. For, if the supposed watch had been found by a savage, he might have thought the small round ticking thing, with twelve unmeaning signs, to be a personal ornament, or even a musical instrument; but by no means can I suppose him to have thought of its being a time-reckoner. Our watch-finder, therefore, must be a person whose civilized notions of the “value of time” have suggested other artificial notions of “measuring” and computing time. In other words, he has acquired the habit of dealing with a most abstract idea, as if it were a reality. Now none but a man possessing such previous knowledge and habits, could draw, either the first conclusion, of general adaptation to a purpose; or the second, of a designing mind. Observe: the elasticity of a spring, the structure of a cogged wheel, the linking of a flexible chain, would not afford any argument for an intelligent watchmaker. These are, severally, the work of inferior agencies. But the mutual adaptation of wheels, spring, and chain, to produce an intelligible result, which harmonizes with a conventional distribution of time,—this indeed affords the highest *probable* evidence (to one who was *acquainted* with that artificial system of hours, minutes, and seconds,) that there was a watchmaker who was likewise acquainted with that system, and had adapted the watch to it.

‘It seems, then, that a man who knew nothing of our division of time, and had never seen a watch before, would not, from merely examining it, see the Design of it, nor argue to a Designer, as Dr. Paley did*. He could not draw the first conclusion; and, by conse-

* ‘The African Missionary Traveller, Campbell, tells an anecdote

quence, would fail of the second. And, if we turn next to the Theological Argument, we shall find that we are exactly in the condition of such a man.

'Paley, at the very outset of his Natural Theology, makes an inadvertent admission, which overthrows his whole argument, and utterly destroys the pretended parallel between the watch and the Universe. His words are, "It requires indeed some *previous* knowledge of the subject, to perceive and understand it!" Have we, then, according to the Natural Theologians, such previous knowledge of the Designs of God?

'It is true, indeed, that the beautiful order, the marvellous adaptation, and arrangement, of all things, both in the natural and moral worlds, is such as must strike with reverent wonder, the mind of every man who is not dead to all perception of loveliness, or insensible, as lifeless rock, to the grandeur of this majestic Universe. It is true, that we may discover some, and believe in the existence of many, subtile agencies ever at work throughout the length and breadth of Nature's domains. But "Can we by searching find out God?" The ONE—the ETERNAL—the IMMORTAL—the INVISIBLE—who hath created, and who controls all?—The Hebrew prophet makes lowly confession, "Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself!"

'In Nature, as in the works of Art, the perfect structure of various parts will prove but little. It is only from the fitness of the *whole* to some exalted end, that a Designer of that mighty whole can be legitimately inferred. We acknowledge the elasticity of the spring;—oftentimes we may see the mutual fitness of the wheels, the cogs, the cylinder, the chain. But we are in blank ignorance of the secret system wherewith this wondrous machine doth harmonize! And thus, to the Horologe of the Universe, there is no Index!—no mystic hand!—no startling sound, pealing forth to announce the mysterious END and PURPOSE of Creation!' pp. 122—7.

In conclusion, we have only to observe of Mr. Irons's ingenious attempt, what has been quaintly said of other laboured attempts at originality on similar subjects, that 'what is true is not new, and that what is new is not true.'

that fully corroborates this. When he shewed his watch to a group of savages, they started back with horror, thinking it, at first, from its sound and motion, a living and almost supernatural thing. It must be hoped, that some future edition of Paley will have a note on this circumstance. The closest examination which the poor savages afterwards gave it, did *not* suggest Paley's conclusion. That is a troublesome fact. Nor could they well comprehend the use of the watch, even when *explained* to them! Here I really think the illustration, in some respects, rather happy. For man in examining Nature to find God, is like a savage examining a watch—(let me add)—by *Twilight*!

Art. III. *The Rambler in Mexico, MDCCCXXXIV.* By Charles Joseph Latrobe, Author of the *Alpenstock*, &c. 12mo. London, 1836.

MEXICO, a few years ago, was the object of intense curiosity and boundless speculation on the part of the British public. That interest seems completely to have died away. Mexican mines have proved a bubble; Mexican bonds are not in much better credit; and Mexican politics are become imbroiled in perpetual intrigues, and revolutions, and counter-revolutions, which no one seems to think it worth while to take the pains of understanding. This complete indifference respecting a country of such vast internal resources, and containing about a fifth part of the population of the New World, is however, as unreasonable as the sanguine and chimerical expectations which were at one time entertained respecting it; and we have especial reasons just now, which we shall presently explain, for hailing with much satisfaction another volume from the lively pen of Mr. Latrobe, describing a three months' residence in that country.

'Public coaches will one day roll on from Philadelphia and 'Washington to Mexico and Acapulco.' Such is the prediction of Humboldt, in his *Essay on New Spain*, grounded upon the absence of any physical obstacles to such land-communication. From his description, it might seem that even a rail-road would not be impracticable; the table land of the Cordillera declining very gradually northward, and the distance from New Orleans to Mexico being *only* 540 leagues, or as far as from Madrid to Warsaw. This would certainly be the pleasantest way of visiting Mexico, and one which the citizens of the United States would no doubt particularly approve of. But matters are not yet quite ripe for the formation of a company to accomplish this object. As it is, the country is to be entered only by climbing its mountain ladder from two or three ports of difficult access, and jealously guarded by that dragon of the Mexican Hesperides, yellow fever.

Mr. Latrobe landed at Tampico, a town which, the year before, had had three-fifths of its rascally population of five thousand swept away by cholera; the effect of which appears to have been, to make the survivors more extortionate and unprincipled than ever. In this port-town, our Traveller had the mortification of being cooped up for a fortnight, suffering from heat by day, and musquitoes by night, with the additional pleasure of being charged exorbitantly for every thing. Mammon is the only deity that is here worshipped; and society is debased to nearly its lowest level of civilized vice. The earth, indeed, is clothed with beauty; and for the first few days, our Author enjoyed his rambles amid scenes of enchantment to a naturalist; but he soon

found, that it is one thing to catch crickets, or gather lilies or daffodils in England, and another to make collections under the tropics. Every leaf holds its myriads of insect defenders; and our Rambler became 'a perfect pasture for these omnivorous 'nuisances.' Symptoms of fever were the consequence of his inexperience; and 'never can I sufficiently appreciate,' he says, 'the real merit of those patient, indefatigable, and rhinoceros-skinned men, who have succeeded in enriching our European 'collections with the wonders of the torrid zone.' Besides the innumerable *garapatos* or wood-bugs, the whole country about Tampico swarms with ants; one species of which, the *arriero* or carrier, attracted Mr. Latrobe's observation from its peculiar habits; and we must extract his description.

'Their nests are formed below the surface, and must be very extensive, judging from the immense length of the trains which may be observed proceeding to and from them on the surface, and the quantity of vegetable matter introduced into them. The labourers are seen moving in two distinct columns, strictly adhering to the rule of the road, upon pathways of even breadth throughout, as nicely indicated and beaten from the incessant passage, as those of busy men. They lead frequently into the bushes, to some tree or shrub, which has been fixed upon by common consent, for the scene of their laborious devastation. The weight and size of the loads carried by these minute insects, is truly astonishing. They are furnished with a strong pair of serrated forceps, with which they operate upon the leaves and flowers with great force and rapidity; and that must be indeed an unassuming denizen of the little republic, who does not stagger off with a cargo thrice his own bulk.

'There was a small shrub of about a yard in height, with bright green leaves, and pretty white jasmine-shaped flowers, which I soon discovered to be a favourite; and the pathway leading from it to the distant hole, might not inaptly be compared to a gay town promenade on a sunny day, crowded by fine ladies armed with green and white parasols, for it was difficult to distinguish the bearer under the burden which he elevated to keep it out of the way of his neighbours', or his own toes. The rapidity with which they move is withal marvellous. I was more than once philosopher enough to oppose a temporary obstruction to the regularity of their proceedings, by placing a pebble upon the aperture of the nest. You must have a lively imagination, if you can fancy the scene which ensued, or conceive the hurry, and bustle, and confusion of the increasing crowd, with their gaudy burdens; the alarm which ran like wild fire along the lines; the quarrels which ensued among the hasty and short-tempered, and the busy importance of sundry knowing old ants, who would drop their cargo, and, climbing the obstruction, take a survey of the nature and extent of the evil.'

pp. 40—42.

At length, the Halcyon having landed the baggage for which they had waited, our Author and his companions—the same that

had shared his rambles in the United States—turned their backs upon the heat, the impurities, and the nuisances of Tampico, and set forth, by the mule-road of the Cañada, for the capital. The ordinary road, by San Luis Potosi, Zacatecas, and Guajuato, is very circuitous. For the first day or two, the route lay over a hilly and picturesque country, very gradually rising in general elevation; and it was not till they had advanced fifty leagues from the coast, that they reached the foot of the foremost spur of the Cordillera. The defile of the Cañada, by which they at length gained the level of the *tierras templadas*, (temperate region,) is described as most magnificent.

‘We considered the scenery of the Cañada superior to any we had ever seen, comparable to it,—and we were, as you know, no novices in mountain defiles. I have no where met with the sublimity of an alpine gorge on a great scale, clothed with such beauty. A varied vegetation, stimulated by the alternate vehemence of a tropical sun, and the gentle dews and moist showers from the mountains above, into an inconceivable rankness and richness of growth,—all that is beautiful and gorgeous in colouring and curious in detail—birds—butterflies—insects—fruits and flowers,—are here presented to the eyes of the traveller, in the midst of a chaos of rent and riven rock and dizzy precipice, which would be worthy of the most savage defile of the most savage alpine districts of Europe.’ p. 64.

League after league, they moved forward in ecstasy, every turn disclosing a new picture; and four or five leagues from the entrance of the gorge, the signs of the tremendous convulsion which has opened this channel through the heart of the mountain are ‘perfectly bewildering’. The thin, laminated strata are broken and twisted in every possible manner; and the river, which they had hitherto found flowing in a chain of alternate rapids or lucid pools, totally disappears, pursuing for some distance a subterraneous course. At length, emerging from the ravine, they approached a large opening, in which the Indian village of Tlacolula lies surrounded with its orange-groves and pretty cultivated enclosures. They reached this place on the seventh day from Tampico Alta, (Upper Tampico,) a distance of fifty-nine leagues. The most sublime part of the defile, however, extends two or three leagues above Tlacolula. Soon after leaving the village, huge precipices on both sides close in upon the stream, throwing the road into deep shadow.

‘A mountain of very great elevation appears literally cloven in twain from the very summit to the foundation; displaying immense perpendicular sheets of white rock, the innumerable laminæ of which are twisted and gnarled like the roots of a tree. A wilderness of the richest tropical vegetation clothes the partial slopes, and chokes up the depths of the defile. The gorge varies from five hundred to one hundred feet in breadth.’ p. 72.

A zig-zag road, conducted upon the narrow edge of ridges, leads from the defile up the steep sides of the mountain. As they continued to climb for nearly two hours, the Travellers became conscious of a change in the region; and at length, on reaching the summit of Monte Penulco, groupes of ever-green oaks and other forest trees, rising from a fresh green-sward, gave demonstration of their having gained the level of the *tierras templadas*, at an elevation of between four and five thousand feet above the Gulf.

The next day, a stage of some four leagues brought them to Zacualtipan, the largest town they had yet seen, although far over-rated in being reported to contain 10,000 inhabitants. Here, in the house of their *arriero*, they halted for a day. The next morning was devoted to a ramble, the chief object of which was to visit certain Indian temples, of which the Author had heard much. He gives it as his decided opinion, that these and other ruins which he afterwards inspected, are of date subsequent to the Conquest, and of Spanish workmanship, although probably built on the site of *teocallies* (temples) of the aboriginal inhabitants. He remarked the site of more than one Indian town, now indicated only by heaps of rubbish and sunken walls, and some singularly shaped rocks, which tradition points out as objects of idolatrous worship in ancient times.

They now entered upon an immense tract of open, barren country, perfectly distinct in its features from any which they had yet seen, and more sublime than beautiful. A rough and tortuous descent into the stony bed of the Rio Oquilcalco, a rugged passage of a mountain, and a long and rocky ascent of a precipitous ridge beyond it, conducted them finally to the level of the expanse of table-land which forms the pedestal of the *Sierra Madre* *. The Travellers turned a few leagues out of the main road, to visit the celebrated Mines of Regla. The basaltic rocks and cascade of Regla form one of the most remarkable natural curiosities in Mexico. Humboldt has given a brief account of them in his *Researches*; but Mr. Latrobe paints so well, that we cannot withhold his description.

* A well constructed road, upon which we had been pacing for some time, conducted us by a rapid descent into the recesses of this celebrated ravine; when we suddenly came in sight of the immense pile

* In Mr. Poinsett's *Notes on Mexico*, there is a more detailed account of the route from Tampico to Mexico; but the Traveller reached Tlascalula by a shorter route. Mr. Latrobe's description amply makes up, however, by its graphic spirit, for its deficiency as an itinerary. An abstract of the Narrative referred to will be found in the *Modern Traveller, Mexico*, Vol. I. pp. 347—357.

of the Hacienda and its Moorish church tower, overtopped by the lofty colonnades of columnar basalt which form the sides of the Barranca. In the abundant supply of water which rushes down it, you find the reason which has led to the choice of this singular locality for the erection of those colossal works for the smelting and amalgamation of the silver ores, which the enterprise and unlimited means of a former Count of Regla have constructed within this horrible gulf, at the cost of nine millions of dollars. At the present time, this property, together with an almost boundless extent of country on the neighbouring Cordillera and in the plain, including the silver mines of Real del Monte, have been, since 1824, rented in perpetuity of the noble possessor, by a British Mining Company, for the paltry sum of sixteen thousand dollars per annum.

‘ We were hospitably received and entertained for some hours by Mr. M., the Company’s superintendant at the Hacienda, and through his kindness were furnished with every facility for a detailed inspection of the various works, which, of course, have been brought to far greater perfection by the present proprietors. Not the least remarkable feature of these immense works, are the ponderous bulwarks of hewn stone, built to protect the works from the impetuous torrents of debris brought down by the river in the rainy season. We did not of course fail to ascend the Barranca to the celebrated cascade, which you reach by tracing the course of the stream between two walls of basaltic columns, upwards of a hundred feet in height. It is to be found at some distance above the Hacienda, where a screen of the same singular geological structure, composed of perpendicular columns of twenty-five or thirty feet in elevation, stretches across the ravine, and bars the course of the river, which pours over it from the upper part of the Barranca. Disjointed sections of rock, half covered with moss, and shaded by trees, lie at the foot of either precipice. In the rainy season, the whole scene must be very grand. The colour and texture of the basalt differs in some respects from any I have seen in Europe, if I except that on Ben More in the North of Ireland. The form of the columns, however, is very complete, and in most cases hexagonal or pentagonal. The Barranca of Regla lies about seven thousand feet above the Gulf.’ pp. 88—90.

Our Travellers made a halt of two days at Real del Monte; a singularly picturesque town, surrounded with forests of oak and pine, at an elevation of above 9000 feet above the sea. From a rock which rises 1000 feet above the town, at a few miles’ distance, is gained a view of extraordinary interest and extent, commanding both sides of the great chain in which the mines are situated. The plains and lakes of the great valley of Mexico, about 20 leagues distant, with the volcanoes of Mexico and Puebla, are visible within the vast horizon on the one hand; and the Vale of Regla and the great cone of Orizava on the other. Our Rambler of course visited the silver mines, which, after having been worked by the Spaniards for nearly two hundred years, were, after their temporary abandonment, re-opened by the Count

of Regla; but had again fallen into decay and disrepair, when British enterprise, at an immense cost, brought them once more into a productive state.

‘The energy and skill of our countrymen, in the construction of new shafts, and the substitution of steam for animal power,—the great roads constructed to Regla and to Vera Cruz, whence all their heavy machinery has been transported on its arrival from England, and the order and wisdom evident in all the operations; are not unworthy of the British name.....In consequence of the number of artificers and miners transported hither, an English colony has sprung up in Real del Monte; and it was moving for me to see the flaxen hair and blue eyes, and hear the prattle of many English children gambolling in close vicinity to the swarthy offspring of the mixed races of the country.’ p. 94.

The common miners are, for the most part, of the Indian race; and about 300, upon an average, are constantly employed in the different parts of the mine. ‘At present, the actual proceeds of the mines exceed the expenditure.’ This is not saying much for the success of the speculation.

A journey of three days more conducted our Travellers to the capital, the approach to which, on descending from the mountains, is described as extremely impressive:

‘The arid, glazed, and silent surface of those interminable levels, over which the whirling column of sand is seen stalking with its stately motion in the midst of a hot and stagnant atmosphere; and upon whose surface he continually sees painted the magic and illusory pictures of the mirage, with their transparent waters and reflected scenes;—the huge dark piles of distant mountains, range behind range;—the strange character of the colouring of the landscape, far and near;—the isolated volcanic cones springing up suddenly from the dead flats, and the lofty peaks of the great volcanoes far in the distance, gleaming in the blue sky with their snowy summits;—the numerous churches, each, with its dome and towers, mocking the deserted waste around, and the wretched groups of mud cottages in its vicinity, by its stately architecture:—all this, seen through an atmosphere of such transcendant purity, that, vast as the expanded landscape seems, no just idea of its immensity can be formed from the calculations of the eye,—imbodies forth, not perhaps the picturesque, or perhaps the beautiful, but most assuredly the sublime.

‘And, when approaching the main valley, the villages thicken around him, with their streets cheered and beautified, amid the general sterility, by groupes of the graceful Peruvian pepper-tree*; and the roads are seen crowded by long strings of laden mules and gay cava-

* Or *schinus*, ‘of which the bright green foliage and pendant clusters of red berries, form a graceful ornament of the upper regions of the country.’

liers ;—and the stupendous works of human design harmonize with those of nature, and prepare him for the sight of one of the most extraordinary scenes in the world, whether we regard the works of men, or those of God, the Artificer of all. And such is the valley and city of Mexico.' pp. 101, 102.

As to the main features of these, Humboldt has left little to be supplied by the descriptions of later travellers ; but Mr. Latrobe is always lively, and his rapid sketch will be found extremely entertaining. We cannot withhold his picture of an earthquake in Mexico.

' The strongest shock of which I was myself aware, was felt about 11 A.M. on the 22d (March), when I was roused from the perusal of a newspaper in the apartments of the American *Chargé d'Affaires*, by a sensation of confusion and giddiness ; and, on raising my eyes, saw the curtains and candelabras in motion. In going to the elevated balcony, the scene presented by the broad and spacious thoroughfare below, was one of the most striking I ever saw, 'There was no terror and no confusion in the street. Each individual of the passing multitude, as far as we could see, was on his knees,—each in the spot where he had become sensible of the terrible phenomenon ; the half-naked Indian beside the veiled *dama*, and the loathsome leper beside the gaudily dressed official. The rider kneeled beside his horse, and the *arriero* among his mules ; the carriages had halted, and their gay contents bent in clusters in the centre of the pavement. The bustle of the crowded thoroughfare had become hushed ; and nothing was heard but a low murmur of pattered prayers,—while, with a slow, lateral motion from north to south, the whole city swung like a ship at anchor, for about the space of a minute and a half. When the shock was over, the multitude rose ; and each went about his business with a nonchalance which proved how the frequent recurrences of this phenomenon had nerved the public mind. In fact, it is seldom that they are of a violence to injure the massive structures of the city ; and the alluvial and elastic soil upon which it is based, is much in its favour.'

pp. 136, 7.

Of the Mexicans, generally, our Author gives no very flattering character. The Roman Catholicism of Europe, he says, dark as we consider it, is light, compared to that which has been substituted in Mexico for the scarcely less gross and degrading idolatry of the aboriginal tribes.

' With the single exception of human sacrifice as a part of the religious system, it may well be asked, by what has it been supplanted ? Fewer and more dignified divinities ? Purer rites ? A less degrading superstition ? Less disgusting ignorance ? A better system of morality ? Who will dare to assert it ?

' You are shewn with obsequious eagerness the huge round stone of Sacrifices ;—you are told to mark the hollow for the head of the victim, and the groove which carried off his blood ;—your ears tingle when they are filled with the number of those who are supposed to have been

immolated upon its carved surface. You turn and see the huge and detestable figure of the idol goddess Teoyamiqui, before whom, as Spanish historians relate, the hearts of the victims were torn out. Yes! but no officious cicerone leads you to the court of the Dominican convent, and points out the broad perforated stone, where the hundreds and thousands of poor benighted, ignorant heathen expired at the stake amidst smoke and flame. No one reminds you that, about the time the idolatrous worship of the Aztecs was extirpated in Mexico, the same Inquisition, then in its first flush of power, burnt 18,000 victims at the stake, in the Old World, and consigned 208,000 to infamy and punishment scarcely better than death itself.

‘A change of names, a change of form and garb for the idols, new symbols, altered ceremonials, another race of priests, so much and no more has been effected for the Indians. . . . Teotl, the unknown God, “*He by whom we live,*” as he was termed,—He whom they never represented in idol form,—is still the Supreme Being under the name of Dios. They continue to adore the god Quetzalcoatl, the Feathered Serpent, under the name of San Thomas. It is indifferent to them, whether the Evil Spirit is called Diabolo or Tlacatecolotl. They retain their superstition, their talismans, their charms; and, as they were priest-led under the old system, so they are kept in adherence to the Church of Rome by the continual bustle of the festivals, and ceremonials, and processions of the Church. But, as to any change of heart and purpose,—a knowledge of the true God as “a Spirit who is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth,”—a sense of their degraded and fallen state as men,—and an acquaintance with the truths of the true Gospel,—its application to their individual state, and its influence upon their lives and characters,—they are as blind and as ignorant as their forefathers.’ pp. 165—7.

This is a dark picture. Yet must it not be confessed, that the latter part of this description applies with almost equal truth to a large proportion of the people in *Protestant* countries? The ignorance and bigotry of the Mexicans are a shade or two deeper than in Old Christendom, as they are a century or two behind us in all respects, and have never had the quickening light of the Scriptures let in upon the popular mind; but it may be more tolerable for Mexico in the day of judgement, than for the Protestant heathen; and a Mexican might say, that man-selling is a crime of not less deep a dye than idolatry.

We must pass over our Author's observations upon the aboriginal traditions, (in which he chiefly follows Humboldt,) with the remark, that the light thrown by the Researches of that learned Writer, affords no countenance whatever to the absurd theory, that the nations of Central America are of Hebrew origin. Upon this subject, we beg to refer him to a former article in our Journal, which, we flatter ourselves, would have precluded his doubts upon this subject.* In their return route, the party

* Eclect. Rev. 3d Series. Vol. II. p. 116; vol. XIV. p. 279.

undertook a very fatiguing excursion to the Hill of Xochicalco, or the House of Flowers, one of the most remarkable monuments of ancient art in the country, and which Humboldt was unable to visit. The sketch which a half-hour's survey has enabled the Writer to give, is just sufficient to whet curiosity, and to excite the wish that subsequent travellers, not unprovided with a sketching pencil, may be enabled to explore the locality more thoroughly.

The most interesting antiquities of Mexico, however, are those of nature. In excavating a canal, in part of the great plain, from which the waters have for centuries been gradually retiring, the workmen, at four feet below the surface, came to an ancient causeway, supported by cedar piles; and three feet below the edge of this work, 'in what may have been the very ditch, they struck 'upon the entire skeleton of a *mastodon*, embedded in the blue 'clay.' Many of the most valuable bones were lost by the careless manner in which they were extricated; but sufficient remained to prove that the animal was of enormous bulk; the diameter of the tusk measuring eighteen inches. Numerous remains of this huge animal are found in the valley, wherever extensive excavations have been made; and they supply our Author with the ground for a very romantic and picturesque conjecture.

'I could not avoid putting many isolated facts together, and feeling inclined to believe, that this country had not only been inhabited in extremely remote times, when the valley bore a very different aspect from that which it now exhibits, or which tradition gives it, but that the extinct race of enormous animals, whose remains would seem, in the instance I have cited, to be coeval with the un-dated works of man, may have been subjected to his will, and made instrumental, by the application of their gigantic force, to the transport of those vast masses of sculptured and chiselled rock, which we marvel to see lying in positions so far removed from their natural site.' p. 139.

Few travellers are better qualified to draw a comparison or contrast between the great mountain formations of Europe and the New World, so far as the Mexican Cordillera affords a fair specimen of the scenery of the Andes. The lines of just comparison are, Mr. L. remarks, very faint; and between the details chiefly characteristic of either chain, no similarity exists.

'In the limestone, slate, and granitic ranges of the Alps, beauty of outline is far from being confined to any single ridge. It is an attribute of the secondary, as well as the most elevated;—of the parallel chains, as well as of the diverging mountains, which, like ribs, start out from the great back-bone of the continent, and sink gradually to the level of the plains on either hand. Piled, range behind range, with deep vales between,—with numerous lakes;—and clothed up to the very limit of eternal snow, with green or forested slopes,—they

are eminently picturesque; and the gentle luxuriance of the lower valleys, contrasts felicitously with the precipitous rocks and masses of snow, which occupy the higher regions. The scale and the structure of the Alps, permit the eye to command, in almost every situation, the whole of their varied detail. The enormous extent of the glaciers on the upper plains and acclivities, and the peculiar manner in which they descend towards the valleys, are mainly characteristic of these mountains.

‘Now as to general outline, both from what I have seen, and have heard with regard to other parts of the Andes, that of the great porphyritic chains of the Cordillera can hardly be said to be generally picturesque. It is scarcely broken enough; its details are too vast. One enormous wall of mountains rises behind another, each buttressing a broad step of table-land, but in general the interval between them is far too great for the eye to command more than one at a time. Here and there, from the general level of the undulating mountain ridge, rises a tremendous cone, with a breadth of base, and an even smoothness of outline, which, at the same time that they proclaim its origin, and add to its sublimity, take from its picturesque beauty. The summit bears its mantle of snow; but, compared with the mass, it is but a cap,—not a flowing mantle, with its silver and purple folds, and its fringe of ice.

‘There are again, for the reason stated, few positions in which your eye will command at the same time, the rich and gorgeous vegetation of the lower slopes of the Mexican Cordillera, and the sublimity of the superior ranges. The vast sheets of the barren Table-land are interposed; the *tierras templadas* separate the *calientes* from the *frias*. Each have their peculiar characteristics, but they can seldom, if ever, be comprised in one and the same picture.

‘You look in vain among all the exuberant forest-growth and the giant flora of Mexico, for the sweet cheering freshness of Alpine vegetation;—that luxuriance without rankness, which clothes the lower valleys.

‘From this you will see, that where the two chains might be supposed to have points of resemblance, they have little or none.

‘Besides that, in the style of its vegetation, both in the torrid and temperate regions,—the plains and their peculiar characteristics,—the prodigious barrancas,—the whole series of volcanic phenomena, which pervade the country, from the sands of the coast, to the craters of the highest volcanoes; as well as in the colouring,—the more prominent features of Mexico are so marked, and so utterly different, that they extinguish the idea of comparison.’ pp. 289—291.

‘Surely,’ remarks Mr. Latrobe, ‘there is not on the face of the earth a country more highly favoured by nature than New Spain’—a title, however, by which we have ceased to recognize the country. ‘You can hardly name a mineral product which it does not hide within its bosom, or a vegetable one, of whatever zone, which it might not, under proper management, be made to bring to perfection in one part or another of its various sur-

'face. Yet, how little has man hitherto done to improve these 'advantages!' Very true; almost as little as in Jamaica. The fate of Mexico, in this respect, is not peculiar; and lamentable as may be the effects of the present unsettled political state of the country, and of the constant struggles of parties for the mastery, we have yet to learn, upon better evidence than our Author has adduced, that Mexico was in any one respect better circumstanced under the paternal government of Spanish viceroys. We have a cordial respect for Mr. Latrobe, but we do not attach the slightest value to anything he says bearing upon political subjects. He is an honest, bigoted, old-school tory, who sneers at reform governments, prefers the manly tone of the Georgian slaveholders to the manners of the Yankees, and thinks the negroes less to be 'pitied' than their excellent and humane masters. What renders his statements still more liable to suspicion, so far as they relate to Mexican politics, is, that he had just come from the United States, was upon the best possible terms with the American *chargé d'affaires*, and found himself debarred from all access to the interior of Mexican society. With this preliminary explanation, we shall lay before our readers his account of the state of political affairs at the time he was in Mexico.

'Santa Anna, a man of but little genius or talent, but cleverer than those about him in the low arts of intrigue, and into whose well-laid traps more than one old associate had fallen, was at the head of the reform government as president. The preceding year, General Duran had attempted to get up an unsuccessful revolution in favour of the so-called "privileged classes." This year Canalizsa had run off to the eastward in the manner I have described; and, under what patriotic cry I forget, had issued a *Pronunciamiento*, proposing to set up a counter-government, according to the custom of the country. If I mistake not, General Bravo was down to the south-west, with the same intentions. The vice-president, Gomez Ferias, was at *couteau tiré* with the president; and the latter had, under the veil of leave of absence from the capital, for the restoration of his health, gone off in a very bad humour, to pout at his estate near Jalapa; where the general belief was, that he was brewing some mischief of his own, in favour of the army and the church, both of which were decidedly under a cloud in the actual state of things. The latter especially began to tremble for its wealth, which the necessitous *Federacion* considered in the light of a lawful prize.

'The surmise was right, as the event showed; for, not long after, the wily president himself was pleased to set up his "bark," and abjuring the reform party, on whose shoulders he had climbed to power, made a run for the capital, beat his old friends, and throwing himself into the arms of the "privileged classes," was again elected president.

'Since that time, another "*grito*" has been given by the Zacatecanos, who revolted again, under favour of that pet cry of the giddy

multitude in the age in which we live—reform!—and getting together six thousand *civicos* or militia, and thirty-two pieces of artillery, defended their city. Santa Anna's star again prevailed; and he beat them also. Durango then gave him a little more trouble; and now Texas, with its unruly colonists, has called him to the north. He may chance to hear some other dog "barking" in the capital before he gets back. Is not this laughable?" pp. 153, 154.

Extremely laughable, no doubt; a fit subject for jest! Our Author proceeds to tell us, that 'the more enlightened party, 'who were desirous of introducing into Mexico the *policy of the United States*,' were in disgrace, their chiefs exiled, and themselves under the surveillance of the party in power. Moreover, in proof of the disorganized state of society in the capital, he tells us, that assassinations were frequent, and that thousands of drunken and gambling *leperos* lay about the churches and piazzas. That such things are disgraceful to a Republican, or to any other Government, who will deny? Yet Mr. Latrobe might have recollected that Humboldt, who visited Mexico under the old regime, represents the social condition of the lower classes as presenting a picture of extreme misery; and in the capital, the *leperos* were reckoned at nearly a fourth of the population! Assassinations and robberies may have increased in consequence of the obstinate revolutionary contest which for twelve years laid waste the country; but there never was a time, we believe, in New Spain, any more than in Old Spain, when there was not ground for complaint on this head. Naples will match Mexico in the number of its *leperos*, and the States of the Church in that of its robbers and assassins.

As Mr. Latrobe has referred to the party conflicts and changes of government which have agitated the Republic, we wish that he had informed himself how far foreign interference and intrigue had been instrumental in fostering them. The American *chargé d'affaires* could, if he had been so disposed, have given him some curious information upon this point. There is a certain Mr. Poinsett, the Author of the "Notes on Mexico," who, if not greatly belied, has had no small share in the mischievous machinations which have had for their object to promote the selfish policy of the United States; playing over again, as minister in Mexico, the same deep game of intrigue that, as American consul, he had played at Santiago de Chile.

And as Mr. Latrobe has referred to the affairs of Texas, we should have been glad, though it is perhaps more than we could expect from him, that he had let his readers a little into the secret of the origin and nature of the insurrection in that province. Secret, indeed, it is not, that the American land-jobbers and slave-jobbers, with their friends in Congress, have long had their hearts set upon obtaining the cession of Texas from the

Mexican Government, either by purchase, by intrigue and cajolery, or, these having failed, by organizing an insurrection which might serve as a pretext for a forcible occupation of the territory. The plans for this have long been laid; and the refuse of the United States, under the name of Texians, have at length deemed matters ripe for setting the Mexican Government at defiance. The disastrous capture of Santa Anna, (April 21,) of which the newspapers will have informed our readers, has led to an armistice between the American and the Mexican forces; but whether this will lead to any accommodation seems extremely doubtful. On the one hand, the annexation of Texas to the United States is openly discussed in Congress, at Washington; while recent advices from Mexico inform us, that the Mexican authorities are equally determined to carry on the war thus basely provoked, and to send reinforcements to the main body of their army, which has suffered no reverse. The issue we will not venture to predict; but not only is justice on the side of the Mexicans: every friend to humanity must wish them success.

That our readers may thoroughly understand the state of the case, they must be informed, that Texas belongs to a Republic which has abolished slavery; and that the importation of slaves from Cuba, which the American slave-traders have been long carrying on in defiance of all laws, human and divine, through the Texian territory, is, by the laws of Mexico, piracy. The object of the Americans is not only to secure the means of continuing this atrocious trade, but also to make this immense territory the field of slave cultivation, and a market for the slave-holders of Maryland and Virginia. Not only so; but, by annexing Texas to the Union, which is the ultimate object, divided into three or more States,—the preponderating influence of the Southern or slaveholding States in Congress will be secured, and the 'Empire State' of New York, with all the North, may be set at defiance.

Such is the deep-laid and atrocious project which is the real origin and cause of the pretended struggle for Texian Independence. Happily, there are still found some patriotic and enlightened statesmen in the American Congress, to denounce the infamous proceeding, and to point out the danger which attends it. The New York Commercial Advertiser contains the sketch of a speech delivered in Congress by Mr. John Quincy Adams, Ex-President of the United States, a few paragraphs of which we shall transfer to our pages, as supporting, by evidence that will not be disputed, the above representation.

'What did we see now in Texas? Why, Americans fighting for the re-establishment of slavery within that state where it had been abolished. He repeated the question: did not every man who heard him know, although the house had not seen fit to grant him the document by which he could establish the fact, that the war raging in

Texas is a war for the restoration of slavery where it had been abolished? And you, sir, your own government has given occasion for a man at the head of the Mexican government to make war in the cause of human liberty; and he might invade your own territory. He believed that that ruffian, Santa Anna, had he not been defeated, would have crossed our borders before this time, and, with the banner of freedom waving about him, would now have been proclaiming liberty to the negroes of the South, and carrying into execution the Mexican decree;—while Texas was carrying on a war for the restoration of slavery, which was the cause of this war. Well, did gentlemen believe, even if this monster were dead, as is supposed, there were not many others who could fill his place? If so, they were greatly mistaken. There were many more, able and willing to take his place. But did not gentlemen suppose that this monster, had he lived to come into the United States, with his banner of freedom, marching with his victorious army, (which he might have been,) would have been satisfied until he had succeeded in rallying every Indian—rallying every negro slave, with the hope and promise of freedom? Did gentlemen suppose that such a war as that was to be carried on in the territory of Arkansas, and the States of Louisiana, Alabama, Missouri, and Georgia, without a great loss of life, and an expenditure of money?

‘Even should it turn out that Santa Anna is really dead—has been shot, and he believed it probable—did the house think that Mexico was not fertile enough to produce another chief able to meet our army, at least as able as those to be found in that one sent against the Indians? Did honourable members suppose that that country was not fertile enough, too, to produce monsters his equal in cruelty? And what would be the condition of the South? Did gentlemen suppose, furthermore, that they had a contest now only whether Texas shall become a territory of this Union? What is the territory of Texas, admitting it independent and free? What is it? Why it has not half the physical power or population of your territory of Michigan; and you are treating your territory of Michigan, and have been for years, with injustice, with more than Mexico has done to justify the Texans to declare their independence.

‘But one word more: he had shown the house that he had, in prospect a Mexican, an Indian, and a negro war, raging upon all our borders—most defenceless borders—which we are now endeavouring to prop up with some support. There was ANOTHER COUNTRY to which the voice of liberty has a charm quite as powerful as it has here, with this addition, that it extends that feeling of liberty to all races—to all conditions and colours. That country has set you an example within the last two years of proclaiming freedom to their slaves in the very vicinity of your own country. Aye, that is the country for fanatics, for abolitionists; and that country, furthermore, has a sentiment of jealousy with respect to your power, which will suggest to them another question beside that of slavery, as connected with this territory, which it is proposed with such promptitude to admit into the Union. Before you admit that territory into the union, you will have to ask the permission of Great Britain. Take my word for it, you will have to do so. And, upon this occasion he would say, some little re-

flection ought to be taken. If the United States should annex Texas to her territory, time was very near when she would have the island of Cuba. And even that question had not been one altogether unconsidered. He knew when propositions were actually made from the Island of Cuba to the United States to be independent, and asked to be annexed to our Union, upon pretty advantageous terms, too. They were not satisfied to be considered as one state;—they would have at least four, if not six members in the other branch of this building. That proposition, however, was not accepted; and there was a reciprocal understanding with her, that she would not belong to Great Britain.

‘At the time he referred to, there were two great revolutionary parties in the island,—one which was extremely anxious to belong to the United States, and the other to Great Britain. And he believed there were propositions made to her, though he could not say for a certainty what they were. All this took place just prior to Ferdinand VII. being restored to the throne of Spain. The people then had undoubtedly, according to all the principles of the rights of men, a right to form what alliance they chose—to ask an admission into this Union, or the protection of Great Britain. There was a British, and an American party in Cuba; and, he repeated, he knew that propositions were made here, and he had no doubt that propositions were made to England, and to France also. It happened precisely at the moment when the French Government had sent a squadron to cruise in the West India seas; and so alarmed was Mr. Canning, a minister at that time, at this mere circumstance, that he sent a peremptory order to France, to know what was the object of that squadron, and to tell her in distinct words, that the squadron must not go and attack Cuba. And the same communication was made on the part of the United States, in a frank manner, to Great Britain, that she was not to take possession of Cuba; and yet, at that very time, secret advices were received by the Government of the United States, stating that there existed an intention on the part of Great Britain to take possession of Cuba.

“‘I say,” continued Mr. Adams, “you will have an account to settle with Great Britain; and Great Britain will not allow you to have Texas at all. And at any rate, if you have it, you shall take it without slaves, and be compelled to respect the abolition of slavery which has been extended throughout her colonies; and this war of yours will be considered by that Government an infernal and abominable war. And depend upon it, if you get into a war with her on account of Texas, it will be one of the most popular wars she ever waged against any nation. I have supposed this war might happen within twelve months—and I do say that you have already given great cause for it to happen, by authorizing the aggression of the territory of this monster, and of his country.”

‘Mr. A. further remarked, that, whether the war had been brought about by Santa Anna, or by the mighty power of man-jobbers, the question whether Texas was to belong to us or not, or be an independent State, was yet to be settled; and this country would have to deal with others besides Santa Anna and the three-and-twenty Mexican states, and your negroes and Indians.’

All this abuse of Santa Anna as a monster and a ruffian, goes for little with us; but it was requisite, perhaps, on the part of the Speaker, in addressing a reluctant audience, to speak of him in these terms. According to all accounts, the 'Texian' General Houston, is far more deserving of these epithets. But will Great Britain justify the expectations, and respond to the appeal of this noble-minded American statesman? Hitherto, we deeply regret to say, our Government has professed to have no official information of these notorious transactions; and to questions put to His Majesty's Ministers in Parliament, the answers have been anything but satisfactory. The press has maintained an unaccountable and ominous silence as to the real nature of the contest. But surely the session will not be suffered to close, without bringing this important topic—important in every point of view, as affecting both our national honour, our political relations, and our commercial interests—before a British House of Commons.

Art. IV. 1. *The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity.* By Sir William Gell. In Two Volumes, 8vo. pp. 877. Map in separate Vol. London, 1834.

2. *An Epitome of Niebuhr's History of Rome*, with Chronological Tables and an Appendix. By Travers Twiss, B.C.L. 8vo, pp. xliii., 359. London, 1836.

IT is not often that we are able to bring together, in a single Article, two Works of so much value and interest as are combined in the volumes now before us. We could fancy that we never thoroughly understood the movements of the Romans on their own proper soil, and on the adjacent territories, until we rose from the steady and studious perusal of Sir William Gell. His style is not particularly good; nor is it, indeed, always perfectly clear in the expression of his meaning; but his materials are excellent, and his knowledge unquestionable. In all his undertakings he has had a distinct object in view, and he has spared no labour in effecting his purpose. The consequence has been, that he has laid the student of antiquity under lasting obligations. His Itineraries of Greece, and his Gazetteer of the Campagna, will be to the inquirer and the traveller inseparable and invaluable companions, at once supplying information and suggesting new tracks of investigation. Not that we like the present form in which Sir William has chosen to convey his instruction: an abecedarian arrangement is, after all, but a school-boy's way of getting through difficulties, and, while it offers no advantage that an index may not more effectually give, has the manifest inconvenience of rejecting all legitimate order and sequence. Either an historical method, or a system of routes, is in all respects pre-

ferable; and, independently of its higher qualities of connexion and specific illustration, is far more interesting than an unconservative series of fragments taking post under the letters of the alphabet. Still, however, notwithstanding its broken and scattered condition, the substance is there; and if we cannot get it in our own way, which must of course be the best, we are quite willing to accept it in the only shape in which it can now be accessible.

The real key to the Work must be looked for in the Map; certainly one of the most instructive in matter and in execution that we have ever seen. It is at once scientific and picturesque: not elaborated with the insipid and unexpressive finish of the ordnance maps, but bold and characteristic; suggesting, if not actually expressing, the landscape, as well as the military surface of the country. It adds to the value of this delineation, that it is not the result of paces and compass-bearings, however carefully conducted, but of a regular and laborious trigonometrical survey; and that no attempt has been made to fill up, with materials less than scientifically accurate, the blanks of the map. It takes in the sea-coast from Punicum to Astura, and includes the course of the Tiber from Ponte Felice, and that of the Anio from its source. When we have added, that its dimensions exceed three feet by two, our readers will be able to form a tolerably fair idea of the contents, as well as of the scale on which they are exhibited. In truth, with the exception of Greece, the world does not contain a region, of similar extent, so intensely interesting to sight, to memory, and to scientific exploration. Its landscape is rich and varied, both in natural and in structural scenery. Mountains, plains, rocks, forests, lakes, rivers, waterfalls, present themselves in all directions; while castles, palaces, churches, temples, entire or in ruins, occupy every advantageous position. Every step calls up recollections of the past: arts or arms have left their traces in all directions. Not a rivulet but bears a consecrated name, nor a road but exhibits in its construction, or passes in its line, the signs manual of Roman magnificence and skill. To the man of science, the country offers, if possible, a still more interesting range of research. The whole region is a volcanic surface, of which the fires are extinct, but with the wreck of former convulsions lying scattered in all directions. Nothing is more striking, in the inspection of the map, than to mark the crater-like aspect of the lake and mountain scenery. Albano and Nemi are evidently the water-logged basins of a volcano which once comprised the entire circuit of the Alban range. The Lago di Martignano, with the broad sheet of Bracciano, are of similar origin; and many a quiet pool, deep, dark, and clear, amid rocks and rich foliage, was once a fountain of fire.

According to present appearances, there is but little in the Campagna di Roma to make it a commanding, or even an advantageous site for the capital of the world. As a central point of energy and action, it may have had some partial eligibilities; but the power of Rome was independent of place or circumstance: it grew, slowly but surely, out of vigorous institutions and favourable opportunities unscrupulously seized. As a strong position, Rome was altogether inferior to the fortresses that hemmed her in; and this may have led to that very policy which, by making her almost invariably the assailant, gave her the vantage of the first blow, and placed her antagonist in the attitude of weakness. Veii, Alba, Tibur, Præneste, with nearly all the cities of Latium and Etruria, were founded on elevated spots, scarped, insulated, and fortified with those Pelasgian or Cyclopiian munitions, which, even in their utter ruin, excite our marvelling admiration. Yet, Rome on her seven hillocks, became the mistress of them all, or rather crushed and destroyed them before her constant and exhausting aggression. There was the river, it is true; and no doubt the Tiber presented many inducements to a settlement on that part of its banks which, while it was within reach of the sea by a sort of canal navigation, afforded no advantages in the upper part of its course, to either a treacherous or menacing approach. Sir William Gell's draught of the Campagna is far from an inviting picture.

There is nothing particularly fertile in the soil of the Campagna to render it an eligible position for the mistress of the world: on the contrary, extensive tracts of country are rendered uncultivable by sulphurous springs, as, for instance, in the road to Tivoli; and in many other parts, the plain is covered only by a thin layer of sterile soil, as along the Appian Way, from the third to the tenth mile: the coast is either a deep sand, as at Laurentum; or a frightful marsh, as at Ostia and Maccarese; and the whole has the reputation of malaria, and of disposing to agues and fever. It has been proved that volcanic lapillæ and volcanic productions in general, possess, in an eminent degree, the power of retaining moisture; (imbibing, with ease, seven-eighths of their own weight of water;) and that their humidity is a principal cause of their fertility. Mixed with the soil, and impregnated with a store of moisture acquired during the winter months, they occasion, in the ensuing spring and summer, the fertility so remarkable in the vicinity of Naples. About Rome, a thin stratum of soil is, in many parts, spread over volcanic productions, but is not mixed up with them. The climate of the Campagna cannot be called fine, for it is seldom the traveller can look around without observing a tempest deluging some part of the plain; and in the numerous excursions which were necessary for the construction of the Map, an impression almost of destruction has been frequently produced, by the bursting of storms over the capital, or Frascati, or Tivoli. They are often so partial as

to assume, at a distance, the appearance of smoke and conflagration.'

Sir William Gell is no neologist in matters of history; his faith is not in Beaufort nor in Niebuhr. His creed takes in the good old times of Evander and Romulus; and, with something of the spirit of a topographer, he relies implicitly on the antique traditions which connected distinguished names with distinct localities or existing monuments.

'The early history of Rome has been called incredible, because no ceremony, or other memorial, commemorative of Æneas, was preserved in the city; but Æneas was never there, and even his descendants came not directly from Lavinium, but from Alba. Of those recorded in tradition as having been connected with the more ancient establishments on the site of the city, memorials did exist. A notice of the passage and club of Hercules, whoever he might have been, was preserved in the Forum Boarium. Cacus is said to have lived at the Porta Trigemina, and Roma Quadrata to have extended from the area of Apollo to the steps or stairs of Cacus, near the hut of Faustulus, when Romulus lived. We are also informed by the ancient historians of Rome, of the residences of the succeeding kings. Tatius, the contemporary of Romulus, lived in the citadel, which he fortified; his habitation being on the spot afterwards occupied by the temple of Juno Moneta. Numa lived at first on the Quirinal, afterwards in the palace near the temple of Vesta; and the Janiculum was the place of his burial. Tullus Hostilius resided at the temple of the Dii Penates, in the Marsh, or Velia; Ancus Martius at the temple of the Lares, at the end of the Via Sacra; Tarquinius Priscus at the Porta Mugonia, above the Via Nova; Servius Tullius resided on the Esquiline, having rendered it safe by the erection of a wall and agger; and Tarquinius Superbus lived on the same spot. Now, it seems scarcely credible that all the houses of all the kings should have been recorded by history or tradition, if their existence was doubtful; and it is difficult to discover what advantage could have been expected from any inventions relative to the kings of Rome, in republican times, when the kingly name was odious, unless the inventions were such as tended to their disparagement.'

We do not know whether all this quite comes up to the requisitions of Charles Leslie in his 'rules' of 'infallible proof'; but we are not without suspicion that such collateral testimony may have been too much neglected in the controversy. We have no disposition to over-estimate these indirect illustrations, but we cannot go the length that the historical Destructives plead for, by discarding them altogether. Much, indeed, of the entire matter of these volumes, independently of its direct interest, derives an additional value from its tendency to elucidate the circumstances of individual and general history. This, however, is not its peculiar merit: in our view, the more important parts are

decidedly those where the skilful observer is at work. No one, in fact, but a sound antiquary can be, in any degree, adequate to the labour of dealing with the multiplied involutions and contradictions which beset the study of Italian archaics. The various races, Gallic, Greek, Asiatic, perchance African, which have left traces of their languages, their arts, and their habits, on the still existing monuments that prove the high and remote civilization of ancient Italy, seem to have jostled one another so roughly, to have intersected so strangely each other's path, to have encroached and receded with such puzzling alternation, and ultimately to have been so completely melted down in the processes of Roman policy and conquest, that it demands the most practised discrimination to obtain even the glimpse of a satisfactory conclusion. Few men have been more thoroughly qualified for these inquiries than Sir W. Gell; and few writers have thrown more light on the special objects of their investigation. He has cleared up many a topographical difficulty, and given more correct appropriation to the vestiges of antique art, and to the remains of ancient cities; he has touched on disputed points with clearness and impartiality; and it would not be easy to speak too strongly in praise of a work so replete with solid instruction, and so entirely free from dogmatism or idle speculation.

Sir William Gell's volumes are not constructed for that sort of exhibition which is usually considered as forming the attraction of a review; nor, in fact, should we be dealing fairly with the work, if we were to cut it up into shreds and patches to answer our own especial purposes. It is not suited to the requirements of mere general readers; but, to those who are in quest of substantive information on the learned subjects to which it refers, we would strongly recommend a thorough familiarity with its contents. Some of the articles are admirable specimens of illustration. The Lake and region of Albano, for instance, are excellently described: the real site of Alba Longa is ably investigated, and the construction of the Emissarium, by which the waters of the Lake were lowered, is made perfectly clear by description and diagram. The situation of the antique Veii is ascertained by a deduction and combination of particulars that seem to us decisive. The history of the Etruscans, the Pelasgi, and the other races which peopled ancient Italy, is given in brief compass, but with distinctness and sufficient detail. Many wood-cuts are introduced, in illustration of modes of construction, chiefly as exemplified in walls and tombs.

'There are,' says Goldsmith, in the preface to his *History of Rome*, 'some subjects on which a writer must decline all attempts to acquire fame, satisfied with being obscurely useful. After such a number of Roman Histories, in all languages, ancient and modern, it would be but imposture to pretend new discoveries,

'or to expect to offer any thing in a work of this kind, which has not been often anticipated by others. The facts which it relates have been an hundred times repeated, and every occurrence has been so variously considered, that learning can scarce find a new anecdote, or genius give variety to the old.'—'Poor Goldy!'—clever as he was, he took here, as he often did, the view that suited his own convenience best, rather than that which he would have gained from a laborious examination of authorities. Much has been done since his time, that had not then 'been anticipated;' and the 'new discoveries,' of which he despaired, have been proposed, at least, if not absolutely established. It is not necessary for us to repeat the contents of former articles, on the subject of Niebuhr and his historical views; but it may be expedient to state briefly the advantages afforded by Mr. Twiss's volume, in the prosecution of a study of which the more extensive range is somewhat formidable. Most general readers, and even some tolerably industrious students, have found the entire work too 'harsh and crabbed for continuous attention.' The style is involved and obscure, and the punctiliousness of the English Translators has too closely followed the peculiarities of the original. Even Mr. Twiss has preserved something of this; but he has put aside much that is not strictly necessary for average purposes, and, by good management, has reduced quantity, without impairing quality. He has, moreover, added something of his own; and his appendix will be found both interesting and illustrative. His suggestions concerning the office of Dictator, are well worth consideration.

Art. V. *The Holy Bible*, containing the Old and New Testaments; now translated from Corrected Texts of the Original Tongues, and with former Translations diligently compared: together with a general Introduction and short Explanatory Notes. By B. Boothroyd, D.D. Royal 8vo. Price 30s. London, 1836.

SINCERELY do we congratulate the venerable and learned Translator on having lived to complete and superintend the publication of this his third great literary enterprise. His critical edition of the Hebrew Bible, published upwards of twenty years ago, first established his reputation as a Hebraist and Biblical scholar. In 1818, appeared the First Volume of his "*New Family Bible and Improved Version*", of which a favourable report and critique was inserted in the thirteenth Volume of our Second Series. The third volume, completing the Work, was published in 1824. As the production of an individual, this Improved Version must be regarded as an immense achievement;

and though of course open to criticism, the execution being unequal, and the Version recommending itself more by its fidelity than by its euphony, it forms altogether an extremely valuable repository of philological and critical illustrations of the sacred text, and was, at the time of publication, to an unlearned reader, the best exhibition of the genuine text of the Inspired Originals. The present Work is a revised edition of that Improved Version in a cheaper and more convenient form, with short explanatory Notes. The "Practical Reflections" of the Family Bible are omitted; but a valuable Introduction is prefixed to the Translation, comprising observations on the genuineness and authenticity of the several canonical books; on the Various Codices, and English Versions; on the Tabernacle, and the Religious Polity of the Hebrews, the Levitical Institutes, and the Jewish Sects, with a Table of Measures and Calendar. In the Translation itself, it has been Dr. Boothroyd's great aim, he tells us, 'to give the *sense* of the sacred authors, without, on the one hand, rendering verbally, or, on the other, being too diffuse or paraphrastic.'

'The rules laid down by Archbishop Newcome have been followed, as not only founded in good sense and an intimate acquaintance with the subject, but as paying that deference to the Authorized Version which its general fidelity and its long use demand. Hence the language of this Version is uniformly preferred, and rarely are any terms introduced but what are already sanctioned by Biblical use.....Preserving as much as possible the language of the Common Version, that language is arranged in such a manner as to endeavour to secure precision, harmony, and strength; and it is hoped that every reader of taste will find that these ends have, in some degree at least, been attained

'In this edition, the Author has availed himself of the many valuable and critical works issued from the press since the publication of his Family Bible and Improved Version. By a repeated perusal of the original text, he has been induced to vary the arrangement of the language, and occasionally the sense of some ambiguous terms and phrases. In the New Testament, various corrections have been made as to the arrangement and punctuation; and in some few places as to the sense.'

The Author concludes his Preface by giving expression to the hope, that the Work, though it cannot be expected to give complete satisfaction to every critic, 'will aid Biblical scholars in their studies, and lead to a more accurate exposition and statement of Divine truth in the ministry, and to a more comprehensive knowledge of it among judicious readers.' In this hope he may reasonably and confidently indulge. The volume ought to be in the possession of every teacher and every student of the Holy Scriptures, if not for general use, in preference to the Re-

ceived Version, yet for the purpose of collation and reference. It embodies the results of the patient labour and research of a life devoted to the study of the sacred text; and is now committed to the press by the Venerable Author in the decline of his strength, as the completion of his labours. As such, we cannot doubt that it will be received by the religious public with sentiments of affectionate respect and gratitude.

As a specimen of the Version, we cannot do better, perhaps, than select the difficult portion comprising Jacob's dying benediction and prophecy.

GEN. XLIX.

- ‘ THEN Jacob called to his sons, and said, 1
 Assemble, that I may tell you, what shall be-
 fall you in the latter days.
 Assemble, and hear, ye sons of Jacob! 2
 Yea, hearken to Israel your father.
 REUBEN! my first-born wast thou; 3
 The beginning of my vigour and strength;
 Superior in excellence—superior in power!
 Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel 4
 Because thou ascendedst thy father's bed:—
 Ascending my couch, then wast thou degraded.
 SIMEON and LEVI are brethren; 5
 They accomplished by violence their schemes.
 Enter not, my soul, into their counsel; 6
 Join not, mine honour, their assembly.
 For in their anger they slew the men,
 And in their self-will cut off the princes.
 Accursed be their anger, for it was fierce; 7
 And their wrath, for it was cruel!
 I will divide them in Jacob!
 And disperse them in Israel.
 JUDAH! thee, thee shall thy brethren praise; 8
 On the neck of thine enemies shall be thine hand;
 To thee, thy father's children shall bow down.
 Like a youthful lion is Judah; 9
 From the prey, my son, thou returnest.
 When, like a lion bending, he coucheth,
 Or like a lioness,—who shall rouse him?
 A sceptred chief shall not depart from Judah, 10
 Nor a judge from his own offspring,
 Until the SHILOH come,
 And to him the nations shall be obedient.
 To the vine he shall bind his ass; 11
 And to the choice vine his ass's colt;
 He shall wash his raiment in wine,
 And his clothing in the blood of the grape:
 His eyes shall be red with wine, 12
 And his teeth made white with milk.

ZEBULON, by a haven of the sea shall dwell ; 13
 Yea, he *shall dwell* by a haven fit for ships ;
 And unto Sidon shall his border extend.

ISSACHAR is like a strong ass, 14
 That coucheth between the boundaries.

For he seeth that his resting-place is good, 15
 And the land *allotted to him*, pleasant ;
 So he bendeth his shoulder to the burden,
 And he becometh a tributary servant.

DAN shall administer justice to his people, 16
 As one of the sceptred chiefs of Israel.

Dan shall be a serpent on the way ; 17
 A Cerastes in the path,

That biteth the heels of the horse
 And backward falleth his rider.
 I have waited for thy salvation, O Jehovah. 18

GAD, though troops shall invade him, 19
 Yet shall he invade them in the rear.

ASHER, of the best kind shall be his food ; 20
 And dainties for kings shall he afford.

NAPHTHALI is a spreading turpentine-tree, 21
 Producing beautiful branches.

A FRUITFUL stem is JOSEPH, 22
 A fruitful stem by a fountain ;
 Whose branches shoot over the wall.

Though the archers greatly aggrieved him, 23
 Contended with him, and harassed him ;

Yet his bow retained its force, 24

And strong were his arms and his hands ;
 Through the power of the mighty one of Jacob,
 Through the name of the shepherd—the rock of
 Israel ;

Through the God of thy father, who helped 25
 thee ;

Through the Almighty who blessed thee.
 May the blessings of the heavens from above,
 The blessings of the low-lying deep,
 The blessings of the breasts and of the womb,
 The blessings of thy father and thy mother, 26

With the blessings of the eternal mountains,
 The desirable things of the everlasting hills,
 Abound and rest on the head of Joseph

On the crown of the chief among his brethren !

BENJAMIN shall ravin as a wolf. 27

In the morning he shall devour the prey ;
 And at night he shall tear the spoil.

We do not deem it necessary to give the critical notes by which the variations from the Received Version are supported. For these we refer our readers to the Volume itself. We have

referred to the want of euphony which will occasionally be felt in the rendering: this remark of course applies chiefly to the poetical parts of the Holy Scriptures. The ear is tuned to the rhythm of the Psalms as they stand in the Received Translation; and in many instances, fidelity and correctness will not compensate for the want of modulation. Those who contend for a literal rendering, cannot object against the constant occurrence of the name Jehovah, in conformity to the Hebrew; but the ear unaccustomed to this mode of invocation, is displeased with its being iterated where it is not required for the purpose of emphasis. The word *hades*, Dr. Boothroyd leaves untranslated; but we fear that it will never become naturalized in our language. 'The Grave', in poetry, is used in a sense very nearly approaching to that of the Greek term, though it does not strictly correspond to it; but, perhaps, the periphrase, the unseen world, would in many places be a better rendering. It is strange that the learned Author should leave *hades* in the text, and yet translate βαπτισμοῖς washings, Heb. ix. 10, where the naturalized Greek word would be preferable. The word rendered unicorn by our Translators, Dr. B. changes to rhinoceros; but this is only substituting one wrong term for another. It is clear that by the *reim* a species of buffalo is intended, whose horns were a symbol of strength. Our word *ram*, though applied to a different animal, is probably related to it. But we must refrain from entering into verbal criticisms, as the task would be endless, of commenting upon particular passages which might, in our judgement, admit of an improved rendering. It is of the Work as a whole that we must be understood to speak, when we express our high satisfaction with it, both as a faithful Translation, and as a valuable body of critical annotations, embodying, in a concise form, the results of the combined labours of the numerous Biblical scholars consulted and cited by the learned Editor.

As a further specimen of the Translation itself, we shall give, without comment, a portion of the Psalms; and of the New Testament.

‘ PSALM XCII.

‘ A PSALM OR SONG FOR THE SABBATH.

‘ It is good to give thanks to Jehovah	1
And to sing psalms to thy name, O Most High!	
To declare thy kindness in the morning,	2
And thy faithfulness every evening;	
On the ten-stringed instrument and on the lyre,	3
With the sweet melody of the harp.	
For thou, Jehovah, gladdenest me by thy doings.	4
In the works of thy hands I will triumph.	
How great are thy works, O Jehovah!	5
How very profound are thy counsels!	

The stupid man never regardeth, 6
 Nor doth the foolish man understand this,—
 That when the wicked spring up as the herbage, 7
 And all the workers of iniquity flourish;
 It is that they may be cut down for ever!
 And thou, Jehovah, art for ever exalted! 8
 For lo, thine enemies, Jehovah! 9
 For lo, thine enemies shall perish,
 And all the workers of iniquity be scattered;
 But my horn thou wilt exalt as that of the rhinoceros; 10
 Thou wilt anoint me with fresh oil.
 Mine eye shall see *the fall* of mine enemies; 11
 Mine ear shall hear of the destruction
 Of the wicked, who rise up against me.
 The righteous shall flourish as the palm-tree; 12
 He shall grow up like a cedar of Lebanon:
 Planted in the house of Jehovah, 13
 They shall flourish in the courts of our God!
 In old age they shall still be fruitful; 14
 Full of sap, and green shall they be:
 To show, that Jehovah, my rock, is upright, 15
 And that in him there is no unrighteousness.

‘ ROMANS.—CHAPTER V.

‘ THEREFORE we, being justified by faith, have peace with 1
 God, through our Lord Jesus Christ: Through whom also we 2
 have access by faith into this state of grace in which we stand,
 and exult in hope of the glory of God. And not only so, but we 3
 glory also in afflictions: knowing that affliction produceth pa-
 tience; And patience, experience; and experience, hope: And 4 5
 hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed
 abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given unto us.
 Now when we were in a perishing state, in due time Christ died 6
 for the ungodly. For scarcely for a just man will one die; 7
 though peradventure for a benevolent man some would even dare
 to die: But God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while 8
 we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more then, being 9
 now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through
 him. For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God 10
 by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall
 be saved by his life. And not only so, but we glory also in God 11
 himself through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now
 received this reconciliation.’

* * * * *

‘ CHAPTER VI.

‘ WHAT then shall we say? shall we continue in sin, that 1
 grace may abound? By no means. How shall we, who have 2
 s 2

died to sin, live any longer therein? Know ye not, that so many
 of us as have been baptized into Christ Jesus have been bap-
 tized into his death? We were, therefore, by this baptism into
 his death, buried with him; that as Christ was raised up from
 the dead by the glorious power of the Father, even so we also
 should walk in a new course of life. For if we have been united
 together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in that of
 his resurrection: Knowing this, that our old man hath been
 crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that
 henceforth we should not serve sin. For he that is dead is set
 free from sin. Now, if we have died with Christ, we believe
 that we shall also live with him: Knowing that Christ, having
 been raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more
 dominion over him. For in that he died, he died for sin once for
 all; but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God.' 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Art. VI. 1. *The Life of Archbishop Laud.* By Charles Webb Le Bas, M.A., Professor in the East India College, Herts, &c. fcap. 8vo. pp. 392. (Theological Library, No. 13.) 6s. London, 1836.

2. *Lives of the most eminent Foreign Statesmen.* Vol. I. By Eyre Evans Crowe. Vol. II. By G. P. R. James, Esq. fcap. 8vo. (Cabinet Cyclopædia, Nos. 46, and 76.) London, 1833-36.

THE persecution of the Albigenses in the thirteenth century, led to the first establishment of the diabolical tribunal known under the name of the Holy Office, or the Inquisition; but it was not till 1481 that the Spanish Inquisition was organized in that form, and with those unbounded powers of jurisdiction, which rendered it so terrible an engine of royal cupidity and ecclesiastical despotism. Torquemada, the first Inquisitor-General, was appointed in 1483; and in the following year, the first code of regulations was drawn up, marked by that spirit of faithlessness and cruelty which has always characterized the proceedings of this tribunal. During the eighteen years of his administration, it is computed that more than ten thousand Jews and heretics were committed to the flames, nearly seven thousand burned in effigy, and upwards of ninety-seven thousand sentenced to confiscation, perpetual imprisonment, or infamy. He was succeeded in his office, in 1498, by Deza, Archbishop of Seville, who is stated to have caused, during the eight years of his administration, 2,592 individuals to be burned, 896 to be executed in effigy, and 34,952 to be sentenced to exile or penances. His agents are represented by a contemporary, as 'killing, plundering, and outraging maids and wives to the shame and scandal of religion.' In 1507 was appointed the third Inquisitor-General, of whom it is recorded, that he introduced some salutary re-

forms into the administration of the system, but he was the instrument of its being established in the American provinces of the Spanish empire. During the eleven years of his ecclesiastical reign, 3564 persons were burned in person, 1232 in effigy, and nearly 30,000 persons visited with minor punishments. These numbers, which rest upon native authority, are probably much below the truth; and the system must have been pushed to a still greater extent under the third Inquisitor-General, to allow of so numerous victims being found as the gleaning of that harvest of blood and plunder so diligently reaped by his predecessors. This last was no ordinary man. He struggled fiercely for every atom of his power, even against the Court of Rome. When the "New Christians," as they were termed, had offered to the bigoted monarch, Ferdinand, no less a sum than 60,000 ducats, on the sole condition that the processes of the Inquisition should be conducted in public, this all-powerful monk, by the weight of his influence, and by a counter bribe, dissuaded the king from compliance; and he subsequently resisted a decision of the Cortes, confirming the opinions of the Universities, that the communication of the depositions, and the confrontation of the witnesses, were the right of the accused, by all laws human and divine. 'The worst feature of this Inquisition,' says a recent historian of decidedly Anti-protestant sentiments, 'was, that the vilest men were admitted as witnesses; that they were never confronted with the accused; that wives might, nay, were compelled to accuse their husbands, husbands their wives, children their parents, and *vice versâ*. He who bore enmity to another, had only to depose, or hire some wretch to depose, and his vengeance was gratified. . . . Into the constitution and proceedings of this hellish tribunal, under Torquemada and his successors, we cannot enter. . . . For a minute, useful, and, in general, very accurate history of this accursed office, blasphemously called the Holy, the reader is referred to the recent work of Llorente.*

And who was that third Inquisitor-general, the worthy successor of Torquemada and Deza, who thus fiercely contended for the worst features of this hellish tribunal? His name and title was, Francisco Ximenes Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo, of whom we read, in another portion of the history just cited, that his fiery zeal occasioned a formidable insurrection in Granada, where he consumed by fire all the Arabic controversial books he could find, amounting to 5000 volumes. 'Who taught the prelate to distinguish the controversial from other works?'—the writer

* History of Spain and Portugal (Lardner's Cyclopædia). Vol. iv. pp. 313, 14.

with becoming indignation exclaims: 'Literature has probably reason to curse this zealot's memory. We know not that any were spared by this mitred Goth, except "*aliquot ad rem medicam pertinentia*." Yet this very man was the editor of the celebrated Complutensian Polyglot!'

Now let us turn from history to biography, and see how this 'mitred Goth,' this fiery zealot, this infernal persecutor, is described by those who have undertaken his portrait.

'It is, indeed, a rare circumstance, to see the same individual canonized as the saint in legends, and immortalized by history as a statesman. Piety, as a principle of public conduct is so apt to be perverted by human passions into the ensign of tyranny or the cloak of ambition, that there is no crime of which well-meaning superstition may not (be) and has not been guilty. Ximenes, however, was fortunate in the epoch and scene of his life and labours. There was in Spain as yet no court, that great corruptress of churchmen But the great stamp and proof of a superior mind in him appeared in this; that, *devout* as he was, even to asceticism, he never depended upon supernatural aid or superstition for success If he was a monk in his chamber, he was a minister in his cabinet, pursuing in each a different path to different objects; here seeking heaven in prayer and meditation, there attaining human ends by human means

'*Ximenes has been fortunate in his biographers.* None dare breathe aught but panegyric of the sainted Cardinal; and we are *thus left in ignorance of those failings of which, in common with all men, he must have had his share.* Benignity, indeed, we scarcely look for in him: *his virtues were too austere for this soft quality.* Yet love and protection of learning form a mild and pleasing light amidst the sombre shades of his character. He bequeathed all his wealth to the University of Alcala; thus crowning by his last act a life of munificence towards that establishment.'

How was the Monk to dispose of his wealth at death, it might be asked, but by gratifying his ambition, in the endowment of his favourite foundation with the accumulations of his avarice? Ximenes *has been fortunate in his biographers*, according to whose partial representations, he would seem to have been one of the most admirable characters in history? But how is it that Mr. Barrett, one of his zealous panegyrists, discreetly avoids all allusion to his ever having sustained the office of Grand Inquisitor?† And how is it that Mr. Evans Crowe, misled by authorities whom he ought to have distrusted, also refrains from noticing this very principal circumstance of his life, more distinctly than by the passing remark, that, when Ferdinand brought with him from

* Ibid. vol. ii. p. 275.

† See Eccl. Rev. 2d Series, Vol. II. p. 334. Mr. Barrett's *Life of Ximenes* was published in 1813.

Italy a cardinal's hat for Ximenes, 'at the same time the office of grand-inquisitor in Spain was conferred upon him by the Pope,' (p. 36.) A little before we are told, indeed, that at Granada, where he had 'undertaken to convert' the Moors, 3000 of whom he 'enjoyed the triumph of baptizing in one day,' 'those who relapsed he handed over to the Inquisition, whilst he took away by force the children of the obstinate Mohammedans.' (p. 32.) One might have thought this were sufficient to mark the execrable character of this Romish saint. And yet, we are told by Mr. Crowe, that Ximenes 'displayed on his death-bed the same piety which had marked his life.' What a profanation of language is this! That Ximenes was a great man, is unquestionable, although 'an administrator rather than a statesman,' and more fitted by nature to be a warrior than a churchman. His policy was as short-sighted as his temper was pugnacious, overbearing, and inflexible. He was qualified to be the vizier of a despotic sultan; and would have made an admirable Mohammedan; nor would it be difficult to find his counterpart among not less able ministers of Oriental despotism. But to speak of his piety, of his religion, is an abuse of those terms. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" * 'Without benignity,' without charity, with no one mark of spirituality, his character the very opposite in every respect of the Divine Example, he stands forward in the light of the flames which he kindled for the innocent victims of infernal intolerance, as an execrable persecutor.

This is far from being a singular or solitary instance in which biography has been misemployed in throwing a false light over the characters of eminent individuals, and in canonizing those whom the verdict of history condemns. A similar instance now presents itself in the life of a man who has been denominated 'the grand-inquisitor of England,' and who, in several points, seems to have borne a striking moral resemblance to the Successor of Torquemada and Deza. In boundless ambition, in his haughty, inflexible temper, in his vaunted, ostentatious munificence, in martial intrepidity, in monkish austerity, in the striking absence of benignity and charity, and in the shortsightedness of his policy, Archbishop Laud emulated the Romish saint; and he has found not less zealous and faithless biographers to canonize his memory.

If we consult any respectable history of the times, there are few individuals whose name it would seem to be more clearly a duty to hold up to everlasting execration, than the colleague of Strafford, through whose joint efforts to establish a despotism in church

* 1 John iv. 20.

and state in this country, the rebellion was provoked, which proved fatal, first to the chief culprits, and then to their royal master. There is surely no Englishman, not professionally warped from genuine English feeling, that does not regard the High Commission and Star Chamber courts as blots upon our history, involving in infamy all the agents in their dark and irresponsible proceedings. Of Laud's share in these fell transactions, there is no room to doubt. False charges were unquestionably brought against the fallen prelate, who had made a whole nation his enemies; but what gave them plausibility, and rendered it impossible to repel them,—what but their being in perfect keeping with the character of the man? There is not a tyrant, a usurper, an impostor in history, whose character has not been rendered darker than it really was, by unfounded allegations and exaggerations;—as in the instances of our own Richard the Third, and Cromwell, and Napoleon. To a certain extent, such misrepresentations are undesigned and inevitable. Yet the substantial lineaments of the true portrait are preserved in the unfavourable or caricature likeness; and seldom indeed has history failed to transmit what may be regarded as the virtual truth, in relation to the character upon which she has pronounced her emphatic verdict.

But Ximenes was 'a churchman', and so was Laud: hence the Inquisitor General must be portrayed as a saint, and the intriguing prelate as a martyr. Had Laud not been a bishop, a respectable writer like Mr. Le Bas would have had neither motive nor inclination to undertake the self-degrading office of his apologist; a task which requires him to "call evil good, and good "evil," and to have recourse to a sort of special pleading, by which it might with equal plausibility be shewn, that the apostle Judas Iscariot has been much traduced, and that he was in fact a martyr. In Laud's character, apart from his episcopal office, there was nothing to engage either admiration or sympathy. No man of virtuous feeling, still less any pious man, would have thought it worth while to attempt to reclaim his character from national odium, had not the spirit of party—we were going to say, the devil of party spirit whispered, 'Laud was an anti-Puritan.' Alas! for that *soi-disant* apostolic church, that established hierarchy, whose honour is identified with the character of the worst enemies of the liberties of their country, and the persecutors of the Church of Christ. What! is the Church of England so poor in historic worthies, that it cannot afford even to give up this arch state-criminal to deserved infamy? Must all distinctions of moral worth be confounded, in order to sustain the lustre of *the order*; and the saintly Jewel, and the apostolic Latimer, be made the peers of a man with whom they had nothing in common, but the name and state of bishop? Yet has Mr. Le Bas avow-

edly undertaken this life of Laud, in order to 'rescue from foul 'defacement' his 'venerable name.' 'So long,' he ventures to say, 'as perfect integrity and sanctity of purpose, with a heart devoted to the service of his God, his sovereign, and his country, can earn for any human being the reverence of posterity, so long must an illustrious place among English prelates be assigned to Laud.' So long, we must add, as malignant bigotry, haughty intolerance, and unbridled ambition in a professed minister of the gospel of Christ, can be viewed as qualities deserving of the detestation of posterity, so long must Laud continue to occupy the bad eminence which history has assigned him.

We scarcely deem it worth while to go into the details of the charges from which Mr. Le Bas has endeavoured to clear the memory of this unhappy victim of ecclesiastical ambition. 'Laud began his career with rendering himself obnoxious at college to the Puritan party, by an insolent attack on the Reformed churches, maintaining that there could be no true church without diocesan bishops. Mr. Le Bas calls this 'a vindication of episcopacy!' Whether justly or not, Laud was reputed to be without either fixed principles or piety. 'To-day,' it was said to him, 'you are in the tents of the Romanists; to-morrow in ours; the next day between both, against both.' Such is believed to be the language of remonstrance addressed to him by Hall, afterwards the venerable Bishop of Norwich, though Mr. Le Bas would fain doubt what even Heylin admits. Not without reason did Archbishop Abbot look upon him with suspicion, and oppose his advancement, or, as Laud's Biographer elegantly phrases it, 'sit cross-legged upon the fortunes of the Papist.' Laud, however, found a zealous and congenial patron in Bishop Neile, who made him his chaplain; and by his means, he contrived to obtain the presidentship of St. John's college, and afterwards the deanery of Gloucester. In conjunction with Neile, his patron, he now set about 'projects of reformation,' levelled at 'the party of 'Abbot' and the Calvinistic clergy. Mr. Le Bas sneers at the consternation produced among the Puritans by the Articles of which Laud was the reputed author, and which had for their object, to place the whole system of study and discipline at the University, at the discretion of the Crown. Yet, that they were framed with this view, he pronounces 'incredible'! The 'Re-tainer of Neile' had now the address to insinuate himself into the favour of Buckingham, and to him he owed his elevation to the see of St. David's; not without some reluctance on the part of King James, if Bishop Hacket may be credited, which Mr. Le Bas is reluctant to admit.

'We are told by the Biographer of Bishop Williams, that Laud had already "fastened on the Marquess of Buckingham to be his mediator; whom he had made sure by great observances; but that the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury (Abbot) had so opposed him, and represented him with suspicion" (in the judgement of the Biographer, *improbably grounded*,) "of unsoundness in religion, that the Lord Marquess was at a stand, and could not get the royal assent to the promotion." Buckingham, however, was not to be diverted from his purpose; and he was rendered the more inflexible, by the "sour and supercilious" demeanour of the Archbishop, in his opposition to the appointment. His Lordship, accordingly, conjured Williams to stand forward as the advocate for Laud; an office which he did not hesitate to undertake, on the first favourable opportunity. The reply of the King was as follows:—"Well, I perceive whose attorney you are. *Stenny* hath set you on. You have pleaded the man a good Protestant, and I believe it. Neither did that stick in my breast, when I stopped his promotion. But was there not a certain lady who forsook her husband, and married a Lord that was her paramour? Who knit that knot? Shall I make a man a Prelate, one of the angels of my Church, who hath a flagrant crime upon him?"* "Sir," said the Lord Keeper; "you are a good master; but who will dare serve you if you will not pardon one fault, though of a scandalous size, to him that is heartily penitent for it? I pawn my faith to you that he is heartily penitent; and there is no other blot that hath sullied his name." "You press well," said the King, "and I hear you with patience. Neither will I revive a trespass which repentance hath mortified and buried. And because I see that I shall not be rid of you, unless I tell you my unpublished cogitation, the plain truth is, I keep Laud back from all place of rule and authority, because I find that he hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change, and to bring things to a pitch of reformation, floating in his own brain, which may endanger the steadfastness of that which is at a good pass, God be praised. I speak not at random: he hath made himself known to me to be such one. For, when three years past, I had obtained of the Assembly of Perth to consent to five articles of order and decency, in a correspondence with the Church of England, I gave them promise that I would try their obedience no further, *anent* ecclesiastical affairs. Yet this man hath pressed me to invite them to a nearer conjunction with the Liturgy and Canons of this nation: but I sent him back again with the frivolous draught which he had drawn. And now your importunity hath compelled me to shrive myself thus unto you; I think you are at your furthest, and have no more to say for your client." "May it please you, Sir," replied Williams, "I will speak but this once. You have convicted your Chaplain of an attempt very audacious, and very unbecoming. My judgment goes quite against his; yet I submit this to your sacred judgment: that Dr. Laud is of a great and tractable wit. He did not well see how he came into this error; but he will presently see the way how to come out of it. Some diseases which are very acute, are quickly cured." "And is there no *whoe* but you must carry it?"

* Alluding to his having been prevailed on to solemnize a marriage between the Earl of Devonshire and Lady Rich.

said the King. "Then, take him to you, but, *on my soul, you will repent it!*" And so went away in anger, using other words of fierce and ominous import, too *tart* to be repeated." ' pp. 40—42.

'We are in no condition to call in question the occurrence of 'this curious scene,' remarks our Biographer.

'It is, indeed, far from improbable, that James may have seen enough of the proposed Bishop's impetuous temperament, to raise some occasional and serious misgivings as to the expediency of his elevation to the Bench. But still it is difficult to reconcile the *alleged* vehemence of his opposition to the measure with one undoubted fact, which seems to indicate that Laud was still in full and secure possession of the Royal favour,—namely, that he was honoured by his Majesty with permission to retain the Presidentship of St. John's College in commendam with his Bishopric.'

Who but a determined party writer, anxious to find some excuse for throwing discredit upon a statement confessedly probable in itself, and resting upon unimpeachable testimony, would have discovered in this permission any peculiar mark of Royal favour? The same determination to bring Laud off, at all events, is discovered in referring to his quarrel with his friend, Lord Keeper Williams, who became jealous of Laud's increasing influence with Buckingham. 'Justice demands,' we are told, 'that we should 'be very cautious in admitting that Laud was guilty of base ingratitude towards Williams. This charge has been frequently 'repeated; but the weight of it will be greatly reduced, *if it be 'true*, that Williams's anxiety for Laud's promotion to a Bishopric was mainly prompted by his own desire to retain the Deanery 'of Westminster.' A conjecture which appears to us perfectly gratuitous, and suggested only for the sake of sheltering Laud from the dark imputation attaching to his conduct towards the man of whom he had made a stepping-stone to his ambition. Eventually, he completely supplanted him in the Duke's favour; and the decline of Williams was 'speedily followed by the elevation of Laud.'

We shall not follow Mr. Le Bas through his elaborate apology for Laud's 'questionable' political proceedings. Upon his scandalous remark, that the assassination of Buckingham 'must have 'had the effect of deepening the antipathy of Laud for the *whole 'tribe of Puritans*,' we will not trust ourselves to comment. The insinuation is worthy of Laud himself. Scarcely less disgraceful to the Biographer is the apology offered for Laud's having threatened Felton with the rack, if he would not discover his supposed accomplices.

'Although it must be admitted, that such a proposal ought never to have fallen from the lips of a Father of the Church, it should not be forgotten, that, after all, the inhumanity of it belonged rather to the

age, than to the man. The application of the rack might, indeed, be unknown to our *law*: but it certainly was not unknown to our *practice*.'

How, then, came this *bishop* to be the only member of the Council, to think of having recourse to torture? But 'every one knows how prodigally the rack was applied by Richelieu.' True, and *he* also was 'a churchman.' Nevertheless, in England at all events, the inhumanity which the law forbade, did *not* belong to the age, but to the *man*. In the same way does Mr. Le Bas attempt to soften down the 'coarse operations of penal justice' in the cases of Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton: 'they were the excesses of the times, rather than of individuals.' An extenuation which is allowed no weight, when the solitary stain upon the character of Calvin is elsewhere referred to. But we must extract our Biographer's account of the case of Leighton as a further proof of his unfairness.

'The same year was, most unhappily, distinguished by the trial and punishment of the fanatical presbyterian, Alexander Leighton, by birth a Scot, by profession originally a physician, and father to the celebrated Archbishop of that name. During the last Session of Parliament, this man had published an inflammatory, and all but treasonable volume, which he was pleased to entitle "*Zion's plea against the Prelates*." In this work, which he dedicated to the Puritans, and presented in person to several members of the House, he exhorted the godly to smite the Bishops under the fifth rib, and to slay them; and branded the Queen as an idolatress, a Canaanite, and a daughter of Heth. In short, the language of the book was such as might be expected from a lunatic. It shewed that the Author was fitter for Bedlam, than the Fleet: and, in fact, the man died almost insane, in 1644. For this outrageous collection of libels, he was brought before the Star-chamber: and there, the two Chief Justices declared, that it was solely of his Majesty's mercy that he was not arraigned as a traitor, at another bar. It cannot be questioned, that although the writer was nearly a maniac, it was necessary to suppress, by a severe example, all such provocatives to murder and insurrection. But the punishment actually inflicted upon him, was horrible! And, it was not only an act of inhumanity, but a most egregious indiscretion. It, at once, converted a crazy rebel into a holy martyr. He was sentenced to imprisonment at the King's pleasure; to a fine of £10,000; to degradation from his ministry; to the loss of both his ears, and the slitting of his nose; and to branding on his forehead with the initial letters of the words *seditionous slanderer*. After ten months' imprisonment, he was released by the Long Parliament; and, by way of compensation for his sufferings, he was made Keeper of Lambeth Palace,—then converted into Lambeth jail!

Now we beg our readers to mark, that the garbled expressions here cited from Leighton's book, in the strange dialect of the times, are adduced in proof of his being nearly a maniac; more

especially his exhortation to the godly, 'to smite the bishops under the fifth rib.' Mr. Le Bas must be perfectly aware that this expression was in familiar use, with no very murderous meaning; for, in a note at p. 59, we find this sentence: 'Sir Edward Deering, a bitter adversary of Laud's, confessed that he had *muzzled* the Jesuit, and *struck the Papists under the fifth rib.*' The words, 'and to slay them', which are attributed to Leighton's pen, it may be confidently affirmed, he never dreamed of employing*. Mr. Le Bas is anxious to shew that Laud had no hand in Leighton's punishment; and he will not believe that, while this merciless sentence was passing, Laud pulled off his cap, and gave God the thanks for it, as related by Neal; because that historian produces no authority. The man who threatened Felton with the rack, cannot be greatly wronged by being supposed an accessory to the horrible punishment of Leighton; nor is it possible that Laud should not have been consulted in the matter. He was no cipher in the council that condemned him. In the case of Prynne's prosecution, 'every member of the council concurred in the sentence; and although Laud "*spoke his conscience on the occasion*", he abstained from voting, because the virulence of the delinquents was chiefly directed against himself.' He may have discovered the same Jesuitical delicacy in the case of Leighton, and have only 'spoken his conscience.' The atrocious punishment was, no doubt, the act of the council, and of that council Laud was one. That he could have procured its mitigation, if he had disapproved of its severity, is unquestionable. As to the anecdote related by Neal, it is so characteristic of Laud, that no one can be surprised at finding it currently believed; nor do we see the shadow of a reason for discrediting the 'bare assertion' of so careful and competent an historian.

We shall pursue no further the exposure of the Biographer's wretched attempt to falsify the verdict of history concerning this odious specimen of prelacy. Speaking of Bishop Williams, Mr. Le Bas says: 'Nevertheless, connected with his great and admirable qualities, there was evidently a worldly spirit of intrigue, a sleepless and insatiable ambition, a lust of advancement and power, which is always of *most pernicious example in the person of a churchman.*' Could the character of Laud be

* 'Doctor Heylin has accused the Writer (Leighton) of urging that assembly' (the Parliament) "to kill all the bishops"; and to make out this malignant charge, has cited words, as from the Plea, *which are not to be found there*, but, on the contrary, are in direct opposition to passages which distinguish very carefully between the office of the prelates and their persons.' *Vaughan's Stuart Dynasty, Vol. I., p. 469.*

better described? Speaking of Leighton's punishment, our Biographer says: 'It was not only an act of inhumanity, but a most egregious indiscretion. It at once converted a crazy rebel into a holy martyr.' Substitute the words, 'fiery bigot', for 'crazy rebel', and we could not have the punishment of Laud and its effect more justly characterized.

Of the Lives of Foreign Statesmen, in the two volumes before us, we can only here say, that they are very pleasingly written; and that Mr. James's Life of Richelieu, in particular, does credit to his elegant pen. By what demons have this world's kingdoms been governed!

Art. VII.—1. *The Cruel Nature and Injurious Effects of the Foreign Slave Trade*, represented in a Letter, addressed to the Right Honourable Lord Brougham and Vaux. By Thomas Roberts, Baptist Minister. 8vo. pp. 40. Bristol, 1836.

2. *Slavery in America*: with Notices of the present state of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World. Conducted by the Rev. Thomas Price. No. I. 8vo. Price 4d. London, (July) 1836.

THAT the Slave Trade should at this moment be carried on by means of British capital, is a fact at the first view so staggering and revolting as not to gain ready credence. And yet, what reason have we to believe that human nature has undergone any change in this country since the close of the eighteenth century, when British legislators were found upholding and defending what is now deemed piracy? What crime will not Englishmen commit for gain? What virtue can stand against commercial avarice? We may boast of our laws, of our liberties, of our religion; and to these, indeed, England is indebted for her social and political pre-eminence; but English human nature, withdrawn from the immediate operation of these restraining and modifying principles, is as depraved, and as capable of horrible wickedness, as human nature in the form of the darkest barbarism. An English Slave-trader is a match, in this respect, with either Portuguese, Algerine, or Malay pirate.

Mr. Innes, in his Letter to Lord Glenelg, admits the disgraceful fact upon which Mr. Roberts is anxious to fix the attention of the Christian public.

- * 'The English mercantile agents at Rio are constantly receiving goods from this country in British vessels, which they reship in a foreign slaver, whose captain or owner is authorized to barter on the African coast for human beings, from thence he returns to Brazil with his cargo to the same agents, who cause the slaves to be sold, and the

profit to be paid to the merchants residing in this country. It is by no means an uncommon occurrence, for vessels cleared out from a British port professedly for South America, and, although, at the risk of the loss of insurance, to proceed from England direct to the Coast of Africa, where they barter their freight for slaves, and sail from thence with them to the very port for which the ship was at first cleared out at the English custom-house.

‘The same illegal and infamous means are used to support slavery in the Southern States of North America. British capital is known to import them from the Havannah through the Texas into those states. It is true that the slave trade is made illegal by American law, but this is evaded by vessels of small size and burthen, skulking up creeks and unfrequented rivers to land their cargoes, and then driving their victims to a great distance, profess that they are not newly imported, but are sent from one state to be sold in another. British subjects, who objected to purchase properties in our own colonies, because they were emancipated, have recently bought estates at Porto Rico, and in the southern parts of America, which are not only altogether cultivated by slave labour, but are constantly recruited by the slave trade.’ pp. 7, 8.

‘Although our endeavours to end the foreign slave-trade have been great, yet such obstacles have arisen to impede our efforts, that little success has followed them, when compared with its *still* increasing extent. It has been continued for the last twelve years by a gross violation of a treaty signed in 1821, by France, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, and England, in which it was stipulated, that trading in the persons of our fellow-creatures should cease in four years from the above period. It is by this agreement not having been regarded by the foreign confederated Governments, *that under their sanction British subjects have dared to embark their capital in the slave trade.* England has repeatedly remonstrated with these nations against protecting it, and his Britannic Majesty has recently signed a second treaty with Spain in particular, that the vile traffic shall not be continued under her flag. British cruizers are numerous and successfully employed in capturing vessels, but the present extent of the trade clearly proves that these efforts, so far from destroying it, are inadequate even to check its destructive and murderous progress. The average number of slave ships taken by our cruizers is *one out of twelve*; and so profitable is the vile traffic, that a merchant engaged in it is *perfectly satisfied if he can clear two voyages out of three, as his gain on the former would then amount nearly to two hundred per cent.* Mixed commissioned courts have been established in those places to which slave ships when captured are usually sent, and which are empowered to dispose of them with their cargoes, officers, and crew, according to law. The vessel is condemned and sold, *whilst probably the purchaser is an agent for the owner from whom she has been taken, or for some similar miscreant who sends her again to the coast of Africa in the same illegal trade.* The officers and crew are sentenced to imprisonment, *from which the captain immediately liberates himself for three or four doubloons, the mates for a less sum, and the foremast men for a few dollars each.* The negroes

removed from the captured ship are ordered to be apprenticed for a short time, to qualify them for *free* colonial cultivation, but it is notorious that they are invariably driven into the interior of the country, and re-sold for slaves. The English people are delighted with the efforts of our Government to end this inhuman trade, and read with ecstasy the success of our naval commanders commissioned to prevent it, whilst the dealer in human beings laughs at the mummery, and proceeds undismayed in his cruel career.

It is true, the law of England has made it a capital felony for any of her subjects to engage in the slave trade.

‘ But this only relates to the prevention of fitting out vessels for the purpose in British ports, and to criminate subjects of this country who may be captured in them at sea. This regulation is ineffectual to deter the English merchant from engaging in the trade under foreign authority, because it leaves the cruel adventurer himself unmolested. A law could be made, and that with general concurrence, which would most effectually prevent this traffic being carried on by British subjects under any sanction. Attach the consequences of piracy equally to the English slave merchant ashore, as to the captain and crew of his vessel if captured at sea. If he be detected and found guilty by the verdict of a jury of employing his capital in the foreign slave trade, let the infamous culprit expiate his crime by the forfeiture of his life to that country and its laws which he has both disgraced and violated by trading in human beings. And whatever might be his property, his influence, his connections, or his general character at the time of his condemnation, *not one of these considerations, nor all of them united, should be permitted to avert his fate. The punishment ought to be as certain as the conviction was clear. He is an accessory to slave dealing and murder before the fact, and he should end his existence by an ignominious death.* If such measures were adopted, the English slave merchants would soon learn that the law to prevent the cruel trade was not a scare-crow, or useless threats, merely intended to deter from crime, but a forcible statute, to visit it with appropriate punishment. They would not, as they do at present, laugh at the folly of the efforts employed to annihilate the inhuman traffic; nor would society at large find it difficult to state in which the weakness most predominates, the law, which is inadequate to prevent this gross crime, or the legislature, which is indifferent to its infamous progression.’ pp. 33, 34.

The extent to which the foreign slave-trade is carried on at present, exceeds, both in horror and in crime, we are told, the traffic as it existed when England, in common with other nations, gave it a legal sanction.

‘ The ships of his Britannic Majesty are constantly capturing large slave vessels, each containing from three hundred to seven hundred negroes, and they are frequently destroying others, whose living cargoes have been but just previously landed. To such a degree of audacity have the slave dealers in Cuba arrived, that they have not only

armed their vessels employed in this infamous trade, determined to protect it by force, but they have offered large pecuniary rewards to persons who would assassinate any of our commanders commissioned to capture the slave ships.

‘The failure of the commercial expedition sent from Liverpool to Africa, was caused in a very considerable degree by the zeal with which the slave trade is carried on between the people of the interior and the European dealers on the coast. Its profits are so great as to render the chiefs indifferent to the valuable productions of that country, as articles of commerce.

‘From this arises nearly all the wars and bloodshed between the numerous nations on that continent. They are commenced solely with the design of obtaining prisoners, who were afterwards sold as slaves to the European dealers, and to such a degree does this traffic engross the attention of the Africans, that the gentlemen connected with that expedition declare that it was impossible to attach the superior natives to any trade but that in human beings.

‘It appears that from January the 1st, 1820, to the end of the year 1834, a period of only fourteen years, *nearly one million wretched victims* were dragged from their native land and conveyed to Brazil alone. A number exceeding *the whole of the slaves liberated* in the English Colonies by *almost two hundred thousand*. In the short space of one year *fifteen thousand negroes* were imported from Africa into the Havannah, a small port in the island of Cuba. Not less than *one hundred thousand* are taken *annually* from the African coast, and conveyed to different destinations. The average number of those who die on the passage amounts to *ten out of each hundred*, so that the lives of not less than *ten thousand human beings* are *yearly* sacrificed in the vessels employed in the foreign slave trade. The average number of ships which sail *annually* from Cuba amounts to *almost fifty*, and which return with their enslaved cargoes to that island. The generality of these vessels commit piracy on the outward bound passage, plundering merchant ships, and frequently murdering the crews. In every African river where slaves can be obtained, these vessels may be constantly seen receiving and sailing with them from thence to the Cuba and Brazilian shores.’ pp. 2, 3.

A great part of Mr. Roberts’s Letter is occupied with an exposure of the atrocious character of slavery in the United States; a subject which has already undergone ample and repeated discussion in our pages, but to which we shall again have occasion to advert. In the mean time, we take this opportunity of cordially recommending to the notice of our readers the first number of a publication, under the able editorship of the Rev. Mr. Price, which is to be specifically devoted to supplying intelligence respecting slavery and anti-slavery operations throughout the world.

Art. VIII. *The Student's Cabinet Library of useful Tracts.* Nos. I. to V. 12mo. Edinburgh, 1835, 6.

BIBLICAL students are under no small obligations to the well-directed enterprise and judgment of the publisher of these Tracts, of which five numbers only have reached us. They appear designed to form a companion to the 'Biblical Cabinet,' of which, from time to time, we have reported so favourably, and of which some unnoticed volumes are loudly claiming our attention. Every scholar knows that tracts of great excellence have become extremely rare; and a judicious selection both of theological tracts, like that edited by Bishop Watson, and of useful tracts, would be a valuable service rendered to literature. The present series is sufficiently miscellaneous. No. I. is, 'Hints to Students on the Use of the Eyes,' by Dr. Reynolds, of Boston, which will prove the cheapest shilling's worth ever laid out, to the student who will profit by them. No. II. Professor Hitchcock, on the Connection between Geology and Natural Religion. No. III. Dr. Channing on National Literature. No. IV. Mr. Negris's Literary History of Modern Greece. Each of these is only sixpence. No. V. Professor Robinson's (of Andover) Concise View of Education in German Universities, seems to require more distinct notice. The information is, apparently, from five to six years old; and it would have been as well if the Editor had taken the pains to correct some of the details by such private intelligence as it could not have been very difficult to obtain, so as to bring down the view to the present date. We are indebted to a learned friend recently returned from Germany, for some important corrections, which we shall interweave with a brief abstract of the information contained in the tract.

The Universities of Germany were all founded by the governments of the countries in which they are respectively situated; but, up to the time of the Reformation, all such foundations had to receive the confirmation of their rights and privileges from the Popes. That of Wittemberg, founded in 1502, was the first that was confirmed by the Emperor of Germany, and not by the Pope, although the assent of the latter was afterwards applied for. That of Marburg, in 1525, was at first confirmed by neither pope nor emperor, but eventually obtained the imperial sanction. After the Reformation, all new universities were confirmed by the Emperor in the rights and privileges granted to them by their own sovereigns. The last which received this sanction was that of Göttingen, founded in 1734. It does not appear to have been obtained by Erlangen in 1743. From that time till the dissolution of the Germanic Empire in 1806, no new university was established. At the present day, all the existing universities are immediately and absolutely dependent upon the respective go-

vernments of the territories within which they are situated. All the professors and teachers of every kind are appointed, and their salaries for the most part paid, by the Government, which also supports, or directs the whole expense of the university, of the erection and repair of buildings, of the formation of libraries and scientific collections, &c. They are not chartered corporations, but might at any time be removed or dissolved by a decree of the same power that called them into existence.

Of the twenty-three universities now existing in different parts of Germany, eleven were founded prior to the Reformation; viz. Prague, 1348. Vienna, 1365. Heidelberg, 1386. Cologne, 1388. Leipsic, 1409. Rostock, 1419. Griefswalde, 1456. Freiburg, 1457. Triers, 1472. Tübingen, 1477. Marburg, 1527. The universities of Cologne and Triers, however, are now only gymnasiums. The following were also in existence prior to the Reformation. Erfurt, 1392; annihilated in 1816. Ingoldstadt, 1472; removed in 1802 to Landshut, and now merged in that of Munich. Wittemberg, 1502; the cradle of the Saxon Reformation, united, in 1815, to the University of Halle, a theological seminary, only being established at Wittemberg in room of its ancient schools. Mentz or Mayence, 1477; extinguished in 1798. Frankfort (on the Odor), 1506; united in 1810 to that of Breslau.

The following existing universities have been founded since the Reformation. Königsberg, 1544. Jena, 1558. Würzburg, 1582. Giessen, 1607. Strasburg, 1621. Kiel, 1665. Inspruck, 1672. Halle, 1694. Breslau, 1702. Goettingen, 1734. Erlangen, 1743. Berlin, 1810. Bonn, 1818. Munich, 1825.

To these are to be added, as having been founded since the Reformation, the following six universities which no longer exist as such. Dittengen, 1549, now only a gymnasium. Holmstaedt, 1576; extinguished in 1809. Altdorf, 1578; incorporated with Erlangen in 1807. Rinteln, 1621; extinguished in 1809. Salzburg, 1623; extinguished in 1810. Bumberg, 1648; extinguished in 1804.

Of the twenty-three existing German universities, seventeen are Protestant, and six are Roman Catholic. Of the latter, three are in the Austrian dominion, viz.: Vienna, Prague, and Inspruck; two in Bavaria, viz., Würzburg and Munich; and one, Freiburg, in the Breisgau, belongs to Baden.

Of the Protestant Universities, six (Berlin, Halle, Bonn, Breslau, Griefswalde, and Königsberg) are within the Prussian dominions. Leipsic belongs to the Kingdom of Saxony. Erlangen is the Protestant university of Bavaria. Goettingen belongs to Hanover, but is the university also of Brunswick and Nassau. Heidelberg is the Protestant University of Baden, and the oldest institution in Protestant Germany. Marburg, the oldest Protest-

ant university, belongs to Hesse Cassel; Giessen, to Hesse Darmstadt. Tübingen is the university of Wirtemberg. Jena, in the grand-duchy of Weimar, belongs partly to the grand-duke, and is partly supported by the dukes of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and Saxe-Meiningen. Rostock belongs to Mecklenburg; Kiel, in Holstein, to Denmark; and Strasburg is within the French territory.

The Universities of Prussia, it has already been stated, are six in number, containing about 6000 students; which, taking the population of the Prussian dominions at thirteen millions, is one out of every 2166. Two of the Prussian universities are very inconsiderable, and may be dismissed with a brief notice. 1. Griefswalde, at once the most ancient and the smallest, is situated near the shores of the Baltic, in a region where there is little to attract students from other quarters; and in 1827, the number was only 160. Yet, among its professors, it boasts of Kosegarten, a pupil of De Sacy, and one of the first oriental scholars of Germany; and Pelt, formerly of Berlin, the author of a valuable Latin commentary on the Epistle to the Thessalonians, well known in this country; all young men. It is the only university in Prussia which is in some degree independent of the government in its administration. The library contains about 50,000 volumes. 2. Königsberg lies also on the Baltic, in the north-eastern corner of the Prussian territories. Its chair of philosophy was formerly occupied by the celebrated Kant. It has a library of 60,000 volumes. The number of students in 1829, was 441; viz. 221 theological, 134 in jurisprudence, 23 in medicine, and 63 in other branches. The other four in the order of their rank and importance are, Berlin, Halle, Bonn, and Breslau.

I. BERLIN. This University, though only seven and twenty years old, has already assumed the first rank among the Universities of Germany. It has been a favourite object with the reigning monarch, to collect here the ablest men of the whole country. In the faculties of law and medicine, it decidedly takes the lead of all others; in the philosophical department, it is inferior to none, and its theological school is rivalled only by Halle. Among its theological professors it numbers Neander, the first ecclesiastical historian of his age, and one of the best exegetical lecturers on the New Testament in Germany; Strauss, the most popular and eloquent of the court preachers; Twisten, formerly of Kiel, a very distinguished logician and divine, and the most distinguished of Schleirmacher's pupils; * and Hengstenberg, a distinguished Arabic scholar, author of a work on

* Schleirmacher, whom he succeeded, died in Feb. 1834.

the Christology of the Old Testament, in three volumes octavo, and the Editor of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*. In the other departments occur the names of Von Savigny, pre-eminent as a jurist; Encke, the astronomer; Bekker, the indefatigable editor of Greek and Roman classics; Boekh, the editor of Pindar, Bepp, the Sanscrit scholar; Zumpt, the author of the Latin Grammar; Ritfer, the geographer; Friedrich Von Raumer, the historian. Hegel, who has been styled the prince of metaphysical philosophers in the north of Germany, and whose system still holds the most extensive sway, is recently deceased. The whole number of instructors usually exceeds a hundred. That of students is about 1800 in winter, and some hundreds less in summer. They do not, as in the smaller cities, form a separate body, but are mingled with the population, and are generally speaking, superior in appearance, manners, and character to those who frequent most of the other universities, with the exception of Goettingen. The university is located in an immense building, formerly the palace of Prince Henry, brother of Frederick the Great; and which contains the museum and lecture-rooms; but it has no separate library. The free use of the royal library, however, is enjoyed, which occupies a splendid building opposite to the university, and contains 180,000 volumes and 7000 libraries; ranking, in Germany, next after the libraries of Munich, Goettingen, Vienna and Dresden. There is also an extensive botanical garden.

II. HALLE.—This University, situated in Prussian Saxony, owes its origin to the secession of the celebrated jurist, Thomasius from Leipsic, towards the close of the seventeenth century, with a great number of his pupils, to whom he continued to deliver lectures at Halle. Of the first three theological professors appointed, that eminent servant of God, Francke, was one; and through his exertions, Halle became the seat of that school of evangelical piety and deep religious feeling which forms an era in the history of the German churches. Francke was himself a distinguished Biblical scholar, and other professors of no mean reputation sustained the character of the University. The tone of piety began to give way with Baumgarten; and at length the foundations of religious belief were undermined by Semler. Rationalism, under the professorship of Wegscheider and Gesenius, obtained a complete ascendancy, the venerable and pious Knapp, who died in 1825, standing alone as the champion of Scriptural truth. The translation of Professor Tholuck from Berlin to Halle, as the successor of Knapp, has, however, produced a very extraordinary and pleasing change. His coming was vehemently protested against by the theological faculty; his sentiments, which are entirely evangelical, being notoriously opposed to their deistical views. The amiableness of his manners, combined with his ac-

knowledge and learning, has, however, enabled him to surmount the effect of these violent prejudices; and his lectures on systematic theology are now attended by a numerous class of students. Although under forty years of age, Professor Tholuck now possesses a greater personal influence and reputation than any other theologian of Germany. Gesenius, though still high in reputation, no longer ranks as the first Hebrew scholar of the age, being eclipsed by Ewald of Goettingen, and several others. As a theologian he is a rationalist of the lowest class, and does not conceal his disbelief in the inspiration of the Old Testament, on which he lectures. He is, in fact, a cold infidel. Wegscheider, who lectures on the New Testament, is 'the standard bearer of Rationalism in its lowest forms.' His class is reduced to between twenty and thirty pupils. Among the other professors, are Thilo, son-in-law of the late Professor Knapp, highly esteemed as a lecturer on ecclesiastical history and Biblical exegesis. Marks; Ullmann, one of the editors of the *Theologische Studien*; Rödeger, a fine Oriental scholar; and Pott, a rising Sanskrit scholar. Meckel, mentioned by Professor Robinson as the first comparative anatomist in Germany, and possessing the best private collection on the Continent, has recently died; and early in 1836, Halle sustained a severe loss in the early death, by consumption, of Bilbroth, one of its philosophical professors, and a man of remarkable comprehension and depth of intellect. The highest expectations had been awakened by the talents displayed in his early lectures and writings. The number of students has been for several years increasing. In 1829, it was 1330; among whom were 944 students of theology, 239 of law, 58 of medicine, and 89 in the philosophical faculty. Halle is a cheaper place than Berlin; and this circumstance, besides its having a number of stipends and free tables, obtains for this University a preference with theological students, who are for the most part poor. Add to which, it has been the favourite resort of all the votaries of Rationalism, who constitute a very large though decidedly decreasing proportion of the students of theology. There is a library of 40,000 volumes.

III. BONN.—The Rhine University, as it is sometimes called, founded in 1818, is eight years younger than that of Berlin, to which it is not much inferior in extent and convenience. It is established in the palace formerly occupied by the reigning Electors of Cologne, situated in the midst of the most delightful scenery, just where the banks of the Rhine change their character, the precipitous crags and vine-clad hills which border it thus far, sinking down into a rich and cultivated plain. A library of 66,000 volumes and 200 valuable manuscripts, a museum, and a fine botanical garden, are among its advantages. As a considerable proportion of the population of Rhenish Prussia is Ro-

man Catholic, this University, as well as that of Breslau, has both a Protestant and a Roman Catholic faculty of theology. In the former, the most distinguished professors are Augusti, Immanuel Nitzsch, (next to Twesten, the greatest of Schleiermacher's pupils, and the prime spirit of the evangelical faculty of theology,) and Bleek, a very clever young man. Gieseler, next to Neander, the most distinguished ecclesiastical historian in Germany, has removed to Goettingen. In the Catholic faculty, Scholz, the learned editor of a new recension of the Greek Testament, and Gratz, formerly of Tübingen, enjoy a deservedly high reputation. Among the other most eminent names are those of Freytag, the author of the most complete Arabic lexicon ever compiled; and Welcker. Those of A. W. Von Schlegel and Niebuhr may be added, as having left a lustre behind them. They were not, however, *ex officio*, professors at Bonn, but read lectures in the university as members of the Academy of Letters, which confers the right to do so in any University of Prussia. The number of students at Bonn, notwithstanding these advantages, has fluctuated remarkably. In 1822, it was 571; during the winter of 1829-30, it exceeded 1000; last year, it had fallen below 500. One of the causes of this decline is believed to be the frequency of duels among the students, a barbarous and disgusting practice encouraged by the fencing schools connected with this and other German universities. These duels are not often fatal, owing to the shape of the weapon in use; but scars of a frightful nature attest the prevalence of the practice among the young men at this university. In 1826, about one-third were theological students, of whom the Roman Catholics were most numerous; one-third, law students; and the remainder were about equally divided between the medical and philosophical faculties. The medical school has a high reputation, and the course of study is admirably complete, the only disadvantage being that too much is required of the student in the four years which he is expected to devote to the study. Before he is eligible for examination on medical subjects, he must have passed an examination on chemistry, botany, mineralogy, zoology, logic, &c. Among the multifarious subjects lectured on by the different professors, we find enumerated, animal magnetism, anthropology, diet of patients, diseases of women, diseases of children, diseases of the eye, diseases of the mind, diseases of literary men, history of medicine, anatomy, (by several lecturers,) pathology, pharmacy, phrenology, surgery, midwifery, &c., &c. With all these various subjects before him, and no peculiar course of study laid down by the regulations, the student is left very much to follow the bent of his judgment or caprice, the frequent consequence of which is, that much valuable time is wasted upon subjects of subordinate importance. Of the three Protestant theological professors, one is a rationalist, and two are considered pietists, that

is, evangelical; and within the last few years pietism has gained ground considerably in this region. The frequent intermarriages between Romanists and Protestants, however, tend to produce a general laxity on religious subjects.

IV. **BRESLAU.** To the information furnished by Professor Robinson, respecting the University of Prussian Silesia, we have to add, that the most distinguished member of the theological faculty is Professor Augustus Hahn, so renowned for the Leipsic disputation in 1827. He is the discoverer of the principles of the Syriac metres; author of an admirable history of Doctrinal Theology; and editor of two beautiful editions of the Hebrew Bible. Of this good man's learning, piety, and temper, it would be difficult to speak too highly. Passow, the lexicographer, is dead.

We find that we have not room to go through the other German universities *seriatim*. At Erlangen, the most distinguished men now are, Hermann Olshausen, elder brother of Justus Olshausen of Kiel, and author of a valuable commentary on the New Testament, of which the first volume has appeared; Harlep, a pupil of Professor Tholuck's, and author of a commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, one of the finest commentaries that has yet appeared in the German language; and Carl Von Raumer (brother of Friedrich, so well known in England,) the most esteemed geographer after Ritter, and, like the latter, a man of undissembled piety. To the illustrious names at Munich, must be added that of Schubert, author of several works on astronomy, and on the philosophy of mind. At Leipsic, which has been deprived, by death, of Rosenmuller, by far the most distinguished professor of theology is Winer, formerly of Erlangen, editor of a valuable Hebrew lexicon.

ART. IX. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

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